

CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH:
THE SECOND GENERATION IN MIAMI

By

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In honor of his ninetieth birthday, I dedicate this dissertation
to my father, whose interest in language and culture inspired my own.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH:
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This study investigates the English of the Cuban-American community in Miami by addressing four research questions. The first two questions concern background information on the acculturation of Cuban-Americans and their language in the context of the larger U.S. Hispanic community.

The third and fourth research questions, by means of an experimental study, examine the variation that has become fossilized in the English of second generation Cuban-Americans. The data were based on eighteen hours of recorded material obtained from thirty-three subjects living in Little Havana. Each subject read a short passage, took the Bilingual Syntax Measure, and participated in an informal interview of approximately twenty minutes.

For the Cuban-Americans, both phonological and nonphonological variation were generally low frequency, particularly in the more controlled measurements. While similar to other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English, the English of the Cuban-Americans had a lower degree of variation and less influence from social and regional dialects.

There were multiple sources for the fossilized forms. The variation primarily resembled the later stages of first language acquisition, with lesser influence from Spanish transfer and variation unique to second language acquisition. The degree of Spanish transfer was dependent on linguistic area, affecting the phonology most, while exhibiting almost no direct influence on the morphology.

Although all subjects arrived in the United States before adolescence, age of arrival proved to be the central sociodemographic factor related to linguistic variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Social club membership was also a significant variable.

This study provides evidence from group and individual variation which suggests that, as with the first generation, the ethnic community in Miami has had an effect on the acquisition of English by the second generation. However, unlike the situation of the first generation, which in some cases resulted in little acquisition of English, the effect on the English of the second generation has been relatively insignificant. Particularly for those Cuban-Americans born in the U.S. or arriving at an early age, the variety of English closely resembles the educated norm.

CHAPTER ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW
AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

In recent years linguistic studies in the United States have begun to focus on the social dialect, including the language of those persons of Spanish-speaking heritage. At the same time, there has been a growing interest in the processes involved in the acquisition of English as a second language. Much of this work has centered around Spanish speakers as well. Further, there has been a continuing interest in the role of acculturation in second language acquisition. However, little research has been done on the language of the Cuban-origin population in the United States. The purpose of the present study is to examine the English of the second generation¹ of this population in order to increase our knowledge of American English social dialects and U.S. Hispanic² dialect study, as well as to better understand the second-language acquisition processes which ultimately influence the language variation³ in the bilingual community.

1.2 Literature Review

Several fields have contributed to a greater understanding of second language acquisition and its role in bilingualism and dialect study. Among the studies that have focused on second language research are those investigating acculturation, sociolinguistic variation, language contact, and linguistic sources of variation.

1.2.1 Studies on Acculturation

When languages and cultures come in contact, there is frequently a modification of one or both of these cultures and languages. This is part of the assimilation process by which one group is absorbed into another. According to Gordon (1964:71) there are seven subprocesses or conditions in the assimilation of a minority population: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic. The first condition, which Gordon (1964:71) also labeled behavioral assimilation, or acculturation, involves changes in cultural patterns, including language choice, to those of the host society.

Gordon (1964:77) claimed that "acculturation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur," and "may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later." Gordon (1964:77-78) went on to assert that

if we examine the history of immigration into the United States, both of these propositions are seen to be borne out. After the birth of the republic, as each succeeding wave of immigration, first from Northern and Western Europe, later from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Orient, has spread over America, the first process that has occurred has been the taking on of the English language and American behavior patterns, even while the creation of the immigrant colonies sealed off their members from extensive primary contacts with "core society" Americans and even when prejudice and discrimination against the minority have been at a high point. While this process is only partially completed in the immigrant generation itself, with the second and succeeding generations, exposed to the American public school system and speaking English as their native tongue, the impact of the American acculturation process has been overwhelming.

However, Gordon (1964) qualified his statement on the inevitability of acculturation. He noted that "if a minority group is spatially isolated and segregated in a rural area," or if there is

unusually marked discrimination . . . keeping vast numbers of the minority group deprived of educational and occupational opportunities and thus predestined to remain in a lower-class setting, the acculturation process may be retarded indefinitely. (Gordon 1964:78)

In discussing four ethnic groups: Negroes, Jews, (non-Black, non-Hispanic) Catholics, and Puerto Ricans, Gordon (1964:75) claimed that "only one, the Puerto Ricans, are designated as being substantially unassimilated culturally." Gordon (1964:76) found the Puerto Ricans to be unassimilated in five of the seven assimilation categories, mostly unassimilated in acculturation, and only partly assimilated in the civic category.

Gordon (1964:108-109) likewise claimed that because of prejudice and discrimination:

augmented by the language difference, the Spanish-speaking people of Mexican origin in the Southwest appear to be developing a middle class out of the second generation rather slowly. . . . The Puerto Ricans of New York and a few other northern cities have been here such a short time it has not been possible to observe acculturation over two full generations, although there are signs that the development of a strong middle-class contingent will not be as rapid as in the case of the European (and the Oriental), probably because of the depth of the prejudice against them.

Thus, while Gordon (1964) stated that acculturation often took place when the other assimilation processes had not occurred, these other processes, when hindered by prejudice and discrimination, could also affect the acculturation process.

In noting the lack of assimilation of Hispanics, Gordon (1964:200-201) also pointed out the social segregation of the Hispanic within the Catholic church, finding that

similar separation ["from inter-home visiting, social cliquing, and cooperation in small group activities with the white Catholic subociety"] in primary group relationships and communal life would appear to be the current lot of the three million or so Catholics

of Mexican and Spanish descent located primarily in the Southwest, and of the approximately 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans, residing principally in New York City, but also in other metropolitan centers of the Northeast and in Chicago.

This lack of structural assimilation could likewise affect acculturation.

Unlike Gordon (1964), Schumann (1978) directly related these other conditions to second language acquisition. He separated cultural assimilation and language acquisition, incorporating additional assimilation processes in his definition of acculturation. Conversely, for Schumann (1978) assimilation was one of the subprocesses of acculturation. Thus, the terms are almost reversed in the two studies. Schumann (1978:29) defined acculturation as consisting of seven social factors and four affective factors "related to the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group."

Of the seven social factors, five are related to processes discussed by Gordon (1964), three within acculturation and two within structural assimilation. These five factors are assimilation, preservation and adaptation; social dominance patterns; congruence; enclosure; and attitude.

Schumann (1978:30) believed that there were three integration strategies: assimilation, preservation, and adaptation:

If the 2LL [second language learner] group assimilates then it gives up its own life style and values and adopts those of the target group. This strategy maximizes contact between the two groups and enhances acquisition of the target language. If the 2LL group chooses preservation as its integration strategy then it maintains its own life style and values and rejects those of the TL group. This situation creates social distance between the two groups and makes it unlikely that the 2LL group will acquire the TL group's language. If the 2LL group chooses adaptation as its integration strategy then it adapts to the life style and values

of the TL group, but maintains its own life style and values for intragroup use. This particular integration strategy yields varying degrees of contact between the two groups and thus varying degrees of acquisition of the target language. (Schumann 1978:30)

Schumann (1978:30) further claimed that "if the 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior (dominant) to the TL group then it will tend not to learn the target language." Likewise, "if the 2LL group is inferior (subordinate) to the TL group then there will also be social distance between the two groups, and the 2LL group will tend to resist learning the target language" (Schumann 1978:30).

In a related discussion on congruence, Schumann (1978:31) proposed that "if the two cultures are similar then social contact is more likely and second-language learning will be facilitated." Thus, social dominance patterns and congruence relate to Gordon's (1964) point that the lack of a middle class inhibits acculturation, including the use of the host language.

The fourth factor cited by Schumann (1978) is attitude. Schumann (1978:30) claimed that "if the 2LL group and the TL group have positive attitudes toward each other, second-language learning is more likely to occur than if they view each other negatively." This is similar to Gordon's (1964) attitude receptional category.

Another of Schumann's (1978) factors in acculturation is enclosure. He explained that

enclosure refers to the degree to which the 2LL group and the TL group share the same churches, schools, clubs, recreational facilities, crafts, professions and trades . . . if the two groups have different churches, schools, clubs, recreational facilities, crafts, professions and trades then enclosure is said to be high,

contact between the two groups is limited and opportunities for acquisition of the target language are reduced. (Schumann 1978:30)

This factor corresponds to Gordon's (1964) structural assimilation.

The other two social factors Schumann (1978) included in the acculturation process were cohesiveness and size, and intended length of stay. Schumann (1978:31) believed that

if the 2LL group is cohesive, then its members will tend to remain separate from the TL group, and if the 2LL group is large, the intragroup contact will be more frequent than intergroup contact. Both these situations will reduce the opportunities for acquisition of the target language.

While cohesiveness and size correspond indirectly to Gordon's (1964) claim that there is a relationship between physical isolation and lack of acculturation, Gordon (1964) did not directly associate cohesiveness and size with lack of acculturation.

Finally, since Schumann (1978:31) was concerned with all second-language acquisition situations, and not just those of permanent residents, he found intended length of residence to be a significant social factor as well, asserting that

if the 2LL group intends to remain for a long time in the target area, it is likely to develop more extensive contacts with the TL group. Therefore, an intended lengthy residence in the target language area would tend to promote second-language learning.

Thus, while both Gordon (1964) and Schumann (1978) identified social factors that affect language acquisition, Schumann (1978) took the stronger position, claiming that language acquisition was directly related not just to what Gordon (1964) called acculturation but to Gordon's (1964) other categories of assimilation as well. Schumann (1978) claimed that it was not only the lack of a middle class and physical isolation in rural settings, but also social isolation that affected second-language acquisition. Whether brought about by

preservation, cohesiveness and size, intended length of residence, social dominance, enclosure, lack of congruence, or attitude, the resulting social separation affects the acquisition of the second language, and likewise its resulting form.

In addition to the seven social acculturation factors that relate to the group, Schumann (1978:28) cited four affective acculturation variables, related to the individual: language shock, cultural shock, motivation, and ego-permeability.

Language shock refers to the second-language speaker's fear that speaking the language will bring criticism. This is more pronounced in adults than in children.

Ego-permeability is likewise related to age, based on Guiora's (1972) notion that, like the Freudian concept of body ego, as children mature, they acquire a sense of the boundaries of their language as well. Schumann (1978:33) proposed that "in the early stages of development, language ego boundaries are permeable, but later they become fixed and rigid."

Cultural shock is the result of disorientation caused by the new culture. Like language shock, cultural shock may also create anxiety and fear, diverting the speaker from acquiring the second language.

Motivation is also a factor in acculturation. The more motivated the speaker, the more easily the second language is acquired. Gardner and Lambert (1972) suggested that motivation may be either integrative or instrumental. In the former, the speaker wishes to culturally assimilate, while in the latter the desire for language learning is more utilitarian, to advance either occupation or status in the intragroup.

In general, an integrative motivation is thought to be more conducive to language proficiency than is an instrumental motivation.

In addition to acculturation factors, including social and affective variables, Schumann (1978) also mentioned additional factors that influence language acquisition, including personality, cognitive, biological, aptitude, personal, input, and instructional. These factors, along with the affective variables, have been cited as the reason for differences between child and adult second language acquisition.

Although there is general agreement that adults are less likely than children to gain native competency in a second language, there is a lack of agreement as to the cause of this disparity in language acquisition. Taylor (1974) believed that affective factors were responsible for differences in the language learning process of adults and children. However, Lenneberg (1967) proposed that the cause was biological, the child's brain differing physiologically from that of the adult. Lenneberg (1967) argued that there was a critical period for language acquisition related to preadolescent lateralization of the two hemispheres of the brain. However, Rosansky (1975) believed that the disparity between child and adult second-language acquisition was the result of cognitive differences related to Piaget's formal operations stage.

The cognitive position corresponds to Schumann's (1978) cognitive factors, in which he included Krashen's (1976) model of monitoring.

Krashen (1978:2) claimed that

conscious learning is available to the performer only as a Monitor. In general, utterances are initiated by the acquired system. . . . Our "formal" knowledge of the second language, our conscious learning, may be used to alter the output of the acquired system.

For Krashen (1976), the child's second language production is unmonitored, acquired language, whereas the adult second language learner uses more monitored, learned language.

Another possible explanation for the differences in second language performance in relation to age is that different aspects of language are more easily acquired at different ages. Ervin-Tripp (1974) suggested that the optimal period for learning phonology may be earlier than for syntax, while vocabulary continues to be learned throughout the speaker's life. Although both Ervin-Tripp (1974) and Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1977) found that older children and adults acquired a second language more rapidly, Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1977) noted that the younger children caught up later on. On the other hand, Asher and Garcia (1969), in their work on Cuban-Americans acquiring English, showed that the younger children consistently achieved a more native pronunciation, particularly if they had been in the country for an extended period of time.

Asher and Garcia (1969) also found that girls achieved more native pronunciation initially, although this difference diminished the longer the children lived in the United States.

While acknowledging the effect of factors such as cognitive and biological variables, nevertheless, Schumann (1978:28) considered the acculturation factors, both social and affective, to be the major causal variables in second language acquisition.

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Studies

The various factors related to language acquisition, including sociodemographic variables such as age and gender, have also proven to be

significant factors in the study of language variation of a group in its social context, that is, in the study of sociolinguistics.

In its broadest interpretation, sociolinguistics incorporates diverse fields of study. As Gumperz and Hymes (1972:vii) pointed out, sociolinguistics includes "linguistics, ethnography, sociology, dialectology, psychology, componential analysis, ethnoscience, paralinguistics and kinesics, folklore, ethnomethodology, stylistics, and possibly other sources as well." The focus of sociolinguistics, then, is not only the language itself but its social context as well.

Labov (1972:183-184) defined sociolinguistics in a more restricted context, excluding those areas that did not directly deal with the language production:

One area of research which has been included in "sociolinguistics" is perhaps more accurately labelled "the sociology of language." It deals with large-scale social factors, and their mutual interaction with languages and dialects. . . . There is another area of study sometimes included in "sociolinguistics" that is more concerned with the details of language in actual use--the field which Hymes has named "the ethnography of speaking."

The focus, then, of what Labov (1972:184) termed sociolinguistics was "language structure and evolution within the social context of the speech community."

Labov (1972) also pointed out that the more recent study of theoretical linguistics had excluded this social context. He claimed that

the basic orientation to the structural analysis of language as most linguistics pursue it today departs from the point of view first expressed by Ferdinand de Saussure at the beginning of this century. Linguists often begin theoretical discussions with reference to Saussure's concept of langue, to be distinguished from parole or 'speech' on the one hand, and langage or 'language as a whole' on the other. According to Saussure, langue "est la partie sociale du langage . . . elle n'existe qu'en vertu d'une sorte de

contrat passé entre les membres de la communauté." . . . For this reason, Sausure's Geneva school is often referred to as the "social" school of linguistics. (Labov 1972:185)

Labov (1972:186) went on to note the paradox that

the social aspect of language [langue] is studied by observing any one individual, but the individual aspect [parole] only by observing language in its social context. The science of parole never developed, but this approach to the science of langue has been extremely successful over the past half-century.

Chomsky's (1965) concept of competence and performance continued the isolation of speech from its social context. Competence was measured by the examination of the ideal speaker-hearer, or, as Labov (1972:186) claimed, "an abstract, homogeneous speech community in which everyone speaks alike and learns the language instantly. . . . Chomsky insists that the data of linguistics is not the utterance by the individual to be studied but his intuitions about language." These intuitions were presumably the author's own.

While Chomsky contributed significantly to an understanding of language cognition, his theory did not account for the variation among individuals of one speech community or within the speech of a single individual. In contrast, Labov recognized the importance of social variation in language. In a pioneering study, Labov (1966) investigated linguistic variants and social correlates in New York City, incorporating occupation, ethnic background, gender, and age as factors in language variation.

Speech styles were also found to be relevant to linguistic variation. The more informal the speech, the more it varied from speech in formal contexts.

Frequency of variation was likewise affected by linguistic environment and grammatical function. While the optional rule of

theoretical linguistics could not account for degrees of frequency, relying on free variation as the only explanation, Labov (1966) and others found that there was a hierarchy among the linguistic factors that predicted the frequency with which these rules would apply.

Labov et al. (1968) formalized these differences in frequency of variation through the use of the variable rule. By ordering the frequency of occurrence for each linguistic factor, sociodemographic variable, or speech style, the variable rule revealed a hierarchical application of a rule rather than a random occurrence.

Labov et al. (1968) employed the variable rule in the study of Black English in New York City. Similar works resulted for the Black English of other urban areas, including Wolfram's (1969) Detroit study and Fasold's (1972) work on Black English in Washington, D.C.

The influence of linguistic and nonlinguistic factors was also established for Puerto Rican Spanish and English variation. Fishman and Herasimchuk (1971) found that different sociodemographic variables were related to phonological variants. Similarly, Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) related these same phonological variants to speech styles, linguistic environments, and grammatical functions. Wolfram (1973) likewise found that both linguistic and sociological factors were significantly related to phonological, morphological, and syntactic variation in the English of his Puerto Rican subjects.

Sociolinguistic studies have thus formalized the relationship between linguistic variables and factors both within and outside of the linguistic system. In addition to the linguistic environment and grammatical function, sociodemographic factors and speech styles have

been shown to relate to the frequency with which linguistic variation occurs.

1.2.3 Studies on the Sources of Second Language Variation

Another aspect of language variation was explored in studies that investigated the source of linguistic variation found in the speech of bilinguals, including those in the process of acquiring a second language. One group of studies concentrated on languages and cultures in contact, focusing on the modifications that are found in the native and/or second language when these are juxtaposed.

Haugen (1973:505-506) maintained that "the dimensions of the field of bilingualism and language contact in the United States (and Canada) were established in the late 1940's and early 1950's by four scholars: Werner Leopold, Einar Haugen, Uriel Weinreich and William Mackey." Leopold's (1949) study of his daughter's acquisition of English and German provided a detailed documentation of bilingual language acquisition, while Mackay's work in Canadian French and English bilingualism improved the definition and measurement of bilingualism. However, it was Weinreich's (1953) and Haugen's (1953, 1956) studies that established the framework for the analysis of language contact variation.

Variation found in one of the languages was thought to be directly attributable to the linguistic system of the other language. In his work on language contact, Weinreich (1953:1) proposed that

those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as INTERFERENCE phenomena.

He went on to explain that

the term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary. (Weinreich 1953:1)

Language variation in the speech of bilinguals was thus viewed as the interference of one system in the other. While the work by Weinreich (1953) dealt with variation in the secondary language, Haugen's (1953) study on Norwegian in the United States and his 1956 work on bilingualism in the Americas were primarily concerned with modification of the ancestral tongue.

At the same time that the study of language contact in a natural setting was developing, there was also an interest in the role of the native language in relation to foreign language teaching. Like the language contact studies, these works on teaching foreign languages believed that any deviation from the norm could be attributed to the interference of another language system. Fries (1945:9) claimed that "the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner." This contrastive analysis approach maintained that transfer of similar structures from the native language facilitated learning the foreign language, while dissimilar structures inhibited this learning.

The concept of language transfer was discussed by Harris (1954), who believed language differences could be measured. He proposed that

the method [of measuring language differences] may also be relevant for the learning or teaching of foreign language; it suggests that it may prove possible to acquire a language by learning only the differences between the new language and the old (leaving those features which are identical in both to be carried over untaught). (Harris 1954:259)

The role of contrastive analysis was further developed by Lado (1957), who emphasized habit formation and the transfer of first language patterns which could be either facilitating or detrimental to the acquisition of the second language. This approach to language learning heavily influenced both the theory and practice of language teaching in the United States.

However, a contrastive analysis could not account for all the variation present in the second language. Corder (1967) examined learner's errors and concluded that while a large number of errors in the second language were related to the systems of the mother tongue, not all could be attributed to the first language. He proposed that

some at least of the strategies adopted by the learner of a second language are substantially the same as those by which a first language is acquired. Such a proposal does not imply that the course or sequence of learning is the same in both cases. (Corder 1967:164-165)

Corder (1967), as well as Selinker (1972) and Richards (1971), recognized that the second language speaker's utterances were not ungrammatical within the system established by that speaker. Selinker (1972) termed this system interlanguage. Like Corder, he attributed variation in the second language to sources other than transfer of the native language. In addition to interlingual variation, Selinker (1972:215) identified the following intralingual sources: transfer-of-training, strategies of second-language learning, strategies of second-language communication, and overgeneralization of TL linguistic material.

Variation due to transfer-of-training results from the method used to present the second language materials. If some forms are overemphasized in the classroom to the exclusion of others, the speaker may, in turn, substitute these forms for their less emphasized

counterparts. Variation caused by strategies of second-language learning involves the learners approach to the materials, while that caused by strategies of second-language communication is the result of the learner's approach to communicating with native speakers. Finally, overgeneralization is the application of a rule or form to a wider environment. Selinker (1972:220-221) also cited less central processes, including spelling pronunciations, cognate pronunciations, holophrase learning, and hypercorrection.

Even with the addition of intralingual sources of variation, not all the variant forms in the second language speaker's utterances were accounted for. Studies in second language acquisition suggested another factor in the language variation of second language speakers: developmental variation.

Richards (1971) established two categories of variation not caused by language transfer. He suggested that these categories

may be called intralingual and developmental errors. Rather than reflecting the learner's inability to separate the two languages, intralingual and developmental errors reflect the learner's competence at a particular stage, and illustrate some of the general characteristics of language acquisition. Their origins are found within the structure of English itself, and through reference to the strategy by which a second language is acquired and taught. (Richards 1971:205)

Richards (1971:206) claimed that

intralingual errors are those which reflect the general characteristics of rule learning, such as faulty generalization, incomplete application of rules, and failure to learn conditions under which rules apply. Developmental errors illustrate the learner attempting to build up hypotheses about the English language from his limited experience of it in the classroom or textbook.

However, these two types of variation are not clearly distinguished. For example, hypotheses about English can involve

incomplete application of rules, faulty generalizations, and failure to learn conditions under which rules apply.

Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975:140-141) interpreted "developmental" to mean "temporary," proposing that "many errors are 'developmental' in nature, that is, they are eradicated over time." This definition would include some occurrences of first language transfer.

Dulay and Burt (1972) viewed developmental language somewhat differently. They expanded on Corder's (1967) suggestion that second language acquisition resembles first language acquisition in its acquisition stages ($L2=L1$). Dulay and Burt (1972:244-245) identified four types of variation: interference-like goofs, $L1$ developmental goofs, ambiguous goofs, and unique goofs. The first type of variation resembles forms in the native language, while the second does not and instead is similar to the variation in first language acquisition. Ambiguous goofs could be attributed to either source, while unique goofs do not appear to be the result of either. Although the fourth type of variation eluded explanation, Dulay and Burt (1972) analyzed the remaining and claimed that all three were the result of $L2=L1$. They proposed that what appeared to be interference could be explained by developmental language.

Dulay and Burt (1972:241) stated the $L2=L1$ hypothesis as follows:

1. Children below the age of puberty will make goofs in $L2$ syntax that are similar to $L1$ developmental goofs.
2. Children below the age of puberty will not make goofs that reflect transfer of the structure of their $L1$ onto the $L2$ they are learning.

The claim by Dulay and Burt (1972) that second language acquisition resembled that of first language was inspired by Raven (1969, 1970), and

Natalacio and Natalacio (1971), who showed the acquisition of syntax for preadolescent second language learners to be similar in order to that described by Berko (1958), and Brown (1966), among others, for first language production.

Dulay and Burt (1973) themselves found a similar sequence of morpheme acquisition for three groups of Spanish-speaking children acquiring English as a second language. Though this order did not match that described by Brown (1973) and de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) for first-language acquisition, it appeared to be the same order found in different language groups learning English. Dulay and Burt (1974) claimed the same hierarchy for Chinese-speaking children acquiring English as that produced by Spanish-speaking children. Likewise, Fathman (1975) proposed that Spanish- and Korean-speaking children learning English produced a similar order of morpheme acquisition. Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974) also claimed to find the same order for adult speakers.

There were, however, several objections directed at the methodology used in these studies on morphological acquisition hierarchies. Larsen-Freeman (1975) believed the results to be a product of the measurement, the Bilingual Syntax Measure, and not to reflect actual acquisition but instead difficulty of usage. Rosansky (1976) likewise found considerable differences in the hierarchies for cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, and for different methods of eliciting speech. She further noted that individuals showed very different acquisition orders. The claimed similarity of acquisition among different language groups was likewise disputed.

Krashen (1978) challenged Larsen-Freeman's (1975) and Rosansky's (1976) claims, arguing that the differences in hierarchies they found were the result of measurements that tested different types of language. Krashen (1976) distinguished those tests that measured language learning from those of language acquisition. He proposed that with the former the speaker relied on a monitor which alters "the output of the acquired system when time and conditions permit" (Krashen 1976:163). Thus, those measurements that allow time to reflect on the language production yield different results than those which do not. Krashen (1978) also claimed that when there were at least ten obligatory occurrences of the morpheme, individual differences and those between cross-sectional and longitudinal studies were minimized.

Although disagreement still exists, there appears to be some degree of hierarchical order in the acquisition of grammatical morphemes by second language speakers. Though not identical to that found in first language acquisition, this second language order is similar.

Almost all of the studies done on sources of second language variation have been concerned with the grammatical structures. Far less research has been done on the acquisition of phonology. One exception is Duncan's (1983) study on the acquisition of English phonemes by seven ethnic groups. She found a hierarchy that resembled the hierarchies cited by Menyuk (1971) for first language acquisition, usage, and difficulty.

In addition to similarities in the order of acquisition, there is evidence that forms occurring more frequently universally are acquired more easily by second language speakers. Gass and Ard (1980) claimed that less universal relative clauses presented more difficulty for

speakers of English as a second language than did more universal constructions. They further claimed that those universal processes were more influential in second language acquisition of relative clauses than in the first language acquisition, which relied more on cognitive processes.

There may also be universal similarities in cognitive (Slobin 1973) and social (Fillmore 1976) strategies used by children acquiring a second language.

Because the terminology for nontransfer variation is somewhat contradictory, the present study will employ the following definitions. The term L1 developmental language will refer to variation found in the speech of the child acquiring a language as the first language, which may likewise occur in the acquisitional stages of that language as a second language. The term L2 developmental language will refer to that variation resulting from classroom language learning, including Selinker's (1972) transfer-of-training category, as well as other variation common to second language acquisition but not found in L1 developmental language nor resulting from first language transfer. Both L1 and L2 developmental language can include universal language tendencies. Collectively, L1 and L2 developmental language will be referred to as developmental language, to distinguish it from language transfer, or interference, resulting from first language influence.

The degree of influence each source exerts on the second language has continued to be debated. Recently, there have been attempts to reconcile the claims made for language transfer with those of L1 and L2 developmental language. Zobl (1980a) proposed that those forms in the first language that correspond to variation in developmental language

would be those most likely to transfer. He offered the following hypotheses:

1. Structural properties of the L2 which give rise to developmental errors may also activate influence from the learner's L1 when a L1 structure is compatible with the developmental error.
2. General language acquisition principles promote transfer when an L1 structure more closely conforms to the linguistic parameters of the developmental acquisition principle than the L2 structure to be acquired. (Zobl 1980a:470)

Following Zobl (1980a) and others, Andersen (1983:182) proposed his revised Transfer to Somewhere (TTS) Principle, incorporating frequency of occurrence as an additional causative factor:

Revised "transfer to somewhere principle": A grammatical form or structure will occur consistently and to a significant extent in the interlanguage as a result of transfer if and only if (1) natural acquisitional principles are consistent with the L1 structure or (2) there already exists within the L2 input the potential for (mis-) generalization from the input to produce the same form or structure. Furthermore, in such transfer preference is given in the resulting language to free, invariant, functionally simple morphemes which are congruent with the L1 and L2 (or there is congruence between the L1 and natural acquisitional processes) and the morphemes occur frequently in the L1 and/or L2.

Therefore, the sources that potentially may contribute to variation in the speaker's second language are the result of first language interference and L1 and L2 developmental language. However, first language transfer is most likely to occur when reinforced by the remaining two sources.

It is likely that these three sources exert different degrees of influence for different aspects of linguistic variation. While Dulay and Burt (1973) argued against first language transfer in the child's acquisition of morphology and syntax, the presence of phonological transfer, particularly in adult learners, is indisputable. Contrastive

analysis may thus be more appropriate in the study of phonological variation than in the study of other linguistic aspects of variation. However, as Duncan (1983) suggested, phonological variation in the English of children may also have an L1 developmental language source.

The relative significance of these factors is also related to the age of the speaker and the conditions under which he or she is exposed to the language. First language transfer and L2 developmental language, particularly that resulting from classroom language learning, are more relevant to the adult learner of English, whereas L1 developmental language pertains to both child and adult language acquisition.

Further, these categories are not mutually exclusive; there is some degree of overlap. For example, overgeneralization is found in both L1 and L2 developmental language strategies. Further, Gass (1983) claimed that overgeneralization could also be attributed to first language influence. She suggested that in addition to language transfer there was also transfer of language by which a speaker overgeneralized a rule in the native language in order to apply it to an environment not found in the first language but present in the second language.

The variation that results from these different sources often represents a temporary stage in the acquisition of a second language. However, some variation is more resistant to change, tending to remain indefinitely in the speech of the individual. Selinker (1972:215) referred to this type of variation as fossilization, stating that

fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL [native language] will tend to keep in their IL [interlanguage] relative to a particular TL [target language] no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL. . . .

It is important to note that fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, reemerging in the productive performance of an IL even when seemingly eradicated.

When nonsystematic, these fossilized forms resemble slips of the tongue, but unlike slips of the tongue, they are motivated by first language transfer and developmental language variation.

Zobl (1980a:470-471) offered a third hypothesis to predict which variant forms would fossilize:

3. Although there is a crucial degree of overlap between developmental and transfer errors with respect to the factors involved in their genesis, transfer errors may prolong restructuring of the rule underlying the error. It is hypothesized that this tendency toward fossilization results from the use of a common rule in a mature linguistic system (the L1) and in a developing linguistic system (the L2 developmental stage the learner has attained).

Similarly Andersen (1983:182) proposed the following corollary to his revised TTS principle: "When any two or more forces promote a given interlanguage form, that form is more likely to emerge and will resist restructuring longer than a form promoted by only one force." Unlike Zobl (1980a), Andersen (1983) did not limit fossilization to only those forms transferred from the first language.

However, both Zobl (1980a) and Andersen (1983) believed that fossilization results from variant forms stemming from more than one source. It remains to be further empirically tested to determine if indeed fossilization only results from these multiple sources, and, likewise, if the occurrence of these multiple sources consistently promotes fossilization.

Although Selinker (1972) and others have primarily applied fossilization to the speech of adults, Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975:140) claimed that "the IL hypothesis can be extended to child

language acquisition settings, when the second-language acquisition is non-simultaneous, and also when it occurs in the absence of native speaking peers of the TL."

Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975:150-51) speculated as to

what point this IL will evolve towards a pidgin or dialect of its own. Pidginization occurred historically at least in the sociolinguistic setting of language contact. Thus we may in fact be witnessing here one of the major mechanisms of language change in the development of a new dialect.

Isolation from the educated monolingual norm is thus the impetus for the individual's linguistic variation, which then may form the community norm. However, variation in the individual's second language may also result from exposure to a bilingual norm, as well as other social or regional varieties of English.

In discussing variation in the speech of the individual and the community, a dichotomy exists similar to that discussed by Labov (1972) for langue and parole, and competence and performance. The studies on language acquisition assume that either the educated monolingual norm will eventually be reached, or that the individual speaker will continue to vary from that norm due to incomplete mastery of the second language. However, sociolinguistic studies have shown that the community as a whole may exhibit this variation. What, then, is the relationship between the group and the individual?

Haugen (1956:40) distinguished three stages of language diffusion:

(1) switching, the alternate use of two languages, (2) interference, the overlapping of two languages, and (3) integration, the regular use of material from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in a historical sense.

These divisions suggest a synchronic vs. diachronic dichotomy.

However, as each speaker acquires the second language, variation in the

speech of the community may affect this acquisition, which in turn may affect the community norm. Therefore, the individual and community linguistic variation are interdependent.

The realization that the second language speaker may not be exposed to the monolingual norm was recognized by Ma and Herashimchuk (1971:352), who pointed out that

it has been assumed that members of one speech community automatically have access to the linguistic norms of the other speech community and that they usually attempt to apply these norms. In fact, however, within a larger stable bilingual community like the New York City Puerto Rican community, it is more likely the case that bilinguals interact and communicate with each other, using both languages, far more frequently than they interact and communicate with members of the surrounding monolingual community. In such a community, speakers generate their own bilingual norms of correctness which may differ from the monolingual norms, particularly where there is a lack of reinforcement of these monolingual norms.

Richards (1972:244) likewise noted that

the evolution of lasting nonstandard varieties of a language by immigrants would appear to be a consequence of the perception of the society by the minority group, and a reflection of the degree to which they have been admitted into the mainstream of the dominant culture.

Therefore, the degree of acculturation is inversely related to the degree of stabilized individual variation, which may result in a group norm.

The second-language speaker may also be exposed to other social norms in addition to the bilingual norm. Wolfram (1973) and others have found influence from Black English in the speech of some Hispanics.

Thus it is fossilization in the speech of individuals that eventually creates the group norm. In turn, group variation may influence the language of the individual. When a speaker is isolated from the educated monolingual norm, fossilization of transferred first language and/or developmental language forms may occur. These forms may

then be incorporated into the bilingual norm, which becomes the model for future generations.

1.3 Methodology

In recent years, studies on individual and group linguistic variation have increasingly concerned Hispanic English. Second language studies have frequently involved Mexican-American children. Likewise, though rarely in a sociolinguistic framework, studies on bilingualism have often focused on the contact of Spanish and English in the United States.

The growth of the U.S. Hispanic population has led to a dramatic increase in the number of persons speaking both Spanish and English. Haugen (1973:515) noted that Spanish was the only immigrant language not declining in the United States.⁴ The 1980 U.S. census listed over fourteen and one-half million persons of Spanish origin in the United States. Of these, over eight and one-half million were of Mexican origin, two million of Puerto Rican origin, and 800,000 of Cuban origin.⁵ Since that time more than 125,000 Cubans have entered the United States.⁶

The Mexican-origin, or Chicano, population, in addition to representing the majority of the U.S. Hispanic population, also has the longest historical tradition in the United States.⁷ In New Mexico, Texas, and California it predates the existence of the United States so that Spanish is actually the original colonial language for these territories.⁸ Today over 10% of the Southwest and Pacific West is of Mexican origin.⁹

Not surprisingly, the majority of Hispanic language research has been devoted to the language of the Chicano. Teschner, Bills, and

Craddock (1975:xi) noted that "Chicano Spanish is readily the best described of the U.S. Spanish varieties. This is due no doubt to the size of the group, its heterogeneity, and the depth of its roots in the region."

Whereas Chicano Spanish is well-documented, less research has been done on the English of this group. Peñalosa (1980:115) asserted that

the most obvious discrepancy in the field of Chicano sociolinguistics is that between the extensive use of English in the Chicano community and the paucity of serious studies concerning varieties of English used by Chicanos. Thus, while English is the dominant Chicano language, especially among the youth (this varies regionally and locally), there are but a handful of studies of Chicano English, as contrasted with the dozens of studies of Chicano Spanish. This discrepancy is particularly serious in view of the fact that English is the language with which the Chicano normally communicates with members of the majority culture; in other words, English is the primary linguistic medium through which the Chicano is oppressed.

Although few have been sociolinguistic in nature, since the early 1970's there have been an increasing number of studies on the English of Hispanics in the United States. As with those on Spanish, the vast majority of the English studies concern Chicanos, primarily describing the language production of young children.

To a lesser degree, research has been done on the Spanish and English of Puerto Ricans residing on the mainland. In spite of the fact that the Puerto Rican community represents a smaller population with a shorter history in the United States than does the Chicano population, as was noted previously, several major sociolinguistic studies have been produced on Puerto Rican English. These studies and those on Chicano English will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three of this work.

In contrast to the studies on the language of the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, almost no research exists on the language of the Cuban-Americans.¹⁰ Representing the smallest of the three major Hispanic groups in the United States and the most recent to arrive, the Cuban-Americans are also set apart sociologically. The historical and resulting sociological differences between Cuban-Americans and other Hispanic groups suggest that the English of Cuban-Americans may likewise differ from that of other Hispanics.

Thus, while numerous descriptive studies have been done on other Hispanic varieties of English, as well as several studies on the language acquisition and sociolinguistic variation of Hispanic English, few works have examined the English spoken by Cuban-Americans. A need exists to understand the Cuban-American acculturation process and the effect this process has had on the English of the Cuban-Americans.

1.3.1 Research Questions

It is the purpose of the present study to examine the English of Cuban-Americans within the framework of acculturation, investigating the language situation that exists in those communities which have been most resistant to the acculturation process. This study relates linguistic variation found in the second generation of one such community to the second-language acquisition process, determining the sources of the variation that has become fossilized in the speech of this group. The linguistic environments that promote variation are also examined, and the frequency of variation in these environments is compared to that found in other varieties of Hispanic English. Further, the effect of speech style on linguistic variation is analyzed. Finally, the relationship between

linguistic variation and several sociodemographic factors is explored.

To this end, the following research questions are considered:

1. What are the historical and resulting social circumstances that have influenced the acculturation of the Cuban-Americans in the United States, and how do these circumstances affect language in the ethnic community?
2. What is the language background of the Cuban-Americans, and what is the nature of other varieties of Hispanic English in the United States?
3. What is the nature of the variation found in the English of the Cuban-American subjects in this study?
 - a. What is the form and frequency of this variation?
 - b. What are the linguistic sources of this variation?
 - c. What effect does the linguistic environment have on this variation?
 - d. How does this variation compare quantitatively and qualitatively to that found in other varieties of Hispanic English?
4. How does the English of the individual Cuban-American speaker vary, and what are the sociodemographic factors that contribute to this intragroup variation?

Each of these question is discussed in relation to the relevant literature on acculturation, language acquisition, language contact, and sociolinguistics, as well as that literature which specifically addresses variation in the English of U.S. Hispanics.

1.3.2 Geographical Setting

In selecting a location for research on the English of the Cuban-American second generation, two main criteria were considered. It was the desire of this study to encounter that segment of the Cuban-American second generation that would be most likely to exhibit English variation as a result of living in the ethnic community, that is, the group most likely to be unacculturated. Therefore, a large, predominantly Cuban-American community had to be selected which would reflect the processes discussed by Schumann (1978) that inhibit acculturation. Further, in

order to reduce the influence of other social or regional varieties of English and thus isolate the effect of this acculturation process from outside variables, it was desirable to find a group that had not settled where other varieties of Hispanic English or Black English dominated.

Because of its large and concentrated Cuban-American population and the subsequent predominance of Cuban rather than other Hispanic cultural and linguistic behavior, the Miami area met both these criteria.¹¹ Since prior to 1959, the Hispanic population of Miami was relatively small, there was no widely-established bilingual norm in the community before this time.

Of the possible sites within the Miami/Dade County location, the Little Havana section of Miami was selected for these same reasons. As will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two, Little Havana is the most concentrated community of Cuban-Americans in the United States. It is also a cultural center for Cuban-Americans and historically the site of the first major Cuban community to be formed in the United States as a result of the 1959 Cuban Revolution.¹² In a study by Levitan (1980) it was found that, of all the Cuban communities in South Florida, Little Havana had the greatest use of Spanish in the home and among the second generation. Thus, there was a minimal possibility of a Cuban-American English norm being developed by the first generation of this community.

The Little Havana area of Miami has been variously defined as the neighborhood surrounding S.W. 8th Street (Calle Ocho). The City of Miami Planner for Little Havana described the boundaries as 27th Avenue on the west, N.W. 7th Street on the north, the Miami River and railroad to S.W. 16th Street on the east, and S.W. 16th Street on the south. The Larger Little Havana City-wide Plan encompasses an extended area from

37th Street on the west to 7th Street on the north, I-95 and the Miami River on the east, and Coral Way on the south. Levitan (1980) followed the Larger Little Havana City-wide Plan boundaries on the east and west but extended the northern boundary to the East-West Expressway and the southern boundary to U.S. Highway 1. In fact, the population is predominantly Hispanic beyond these boundaries, particularly to the west.

1.3.3 Subjects

Once the selection of the geographical area was made, the criteria for selecting subjects had to be met. The second rather than the first generation was chosen for several reasons. As Gordon (1964:78) noted, the process of acculturation, including the use of the English language "is only partially completed in the immigrant generation itself." Therefore, if the first generation speaks English at all, it shows only a partial command of the language, with considerable influence from the native language. This variety of the language does not constitute the community norm and is often not passed on to succeeding generations.

It is the English of the second generation, acquired in childhood, that is most likely to become a part of the bilingual community norm. The linguistic variant forms in the English of the second generation, including those that have become fossilized and those that are part of the existing community norms, are the forms that potentially will be passed on to future generations if there is a continued isolation from the monolingual norm. If there is no prevailing bilingual norm, then any variation can be presumed to be primarily the result of fossilization within the individual's language system.

This study, therefore, wished to include members of the second generation who had acquired English before the age of puberty. However,

an adult command of the language was necessary, so that any variation found in their language could be considered fossilized rather than a temporary stage in the acquisition process. Because the vast majority of the first generation did not arrive until 1959 at the earliest, much of the second generation was composed of children still in the process of acquiring adult language. To measure a more mature variety of English presented the difficulty of making contact with an older group and yet controlling several variables. Using a community college or university would have eliminated that sector of the population that did not continue its education. Likewise, a church in the community would have excluded those of the second generation who did not share the religious and, potentially, the accompanying cultural identity. In an attempt to obtain mature rather than developing language and yet encounter a representative sample of the population, it was decided to select as subjects the oldest group of students within the public school system: seniors in high school.

Thus, the high school located in Little Havana, Miami Senior High, was chosen as the location for the present study. In selecting high school seniors it was recognized that this sample would not include those students who dropped out of school before their senior year. However, in a report edited by Hernandez (1974), Miami Senior High School was shown to have a lower dropout rate than other Miami high schools with large Hispanic populations.

The population of several private schools which serve the Little Havana community likewise was excluded from the present study. Nevertheless, several students included in the sample from Miami Senior High had previously attended private schools. Thus, it was felt that the

public high school provided an adequate cross section of socioeconomic groups to include a diverse selection of students for the present study.

Located at S.W. 1st Street and 24th Avenue, Miami Senior High School serves the majority of the Little Havana community, reflecting its population distribution. The school boundaries coincide with the Larger Little Havana City-wide area with the exception of the east boundary, which is 17th Avenue for the school district.

In the Hernandez (1974) report, Miami Senior High was found to have the largest percentage of Hispanics of any high school in Miami. According to the Dade County School District, in October of 1981 the enrollment for Miami Senior High School was 2,196 pupils. Of these, 1,950 (88.79%) were Hispanic, 162 (7.38%) were non-Hispanic white, seventy-two (3.27%) were Black, and twelve (.55%) were Asian.

Miami Senior High School was also the first bilingual high school in Miami.¹³ Likewise, among its students were those who had attended Coral Way Elementary School, the first bilingual elementary school in Miami.

At Miami Senior High School the English courses for native English speakers were divided into three levels, or phases, based on placement by a standardized test. In 1982, Phase I, the lowest level, and Phase II, the intermediate level, had roughly 250 seniors each, while approximately forty pupils were in the honors level, Phase III.

After permission to conduct the study was granted by both the Dade County Public Schools and Miami Senior High, students were selected from the three levels of English classes by means of a letter (see Appendix A) distributed to those English teachers with senior-level classes.

Since participation in the study required parental consent, once a student expressed interest, a letter was sent home to be signed (see Appendix B). A questionnaire was also given to the student to obtain background information (see Appendix C). Due to the conditions of voluntary participation and parental consent, required by the Dade County Public Schools, a random sample could not be obtained.

In all, thirty-three subjects were included in the study, seventeen males and sixteen females, as shown in Table 1-1.

TABLE 1-1
SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO ENGLISH LEVEL

Phase	Gender	
	F	M
I	7	6
II	8	10
III	1	1
Total:	16	17

Since evidence presented in this chapter suggests that a second language is acquired differently by preadolescents than by adults, this study wished to include only those speakers who potentially could acquire English natively. Any variation in their speech would then be due to factors other than adult language-acquisition limitations. Therefore, ten was chosen as the cut-off for age of arrival in the United States. Table 1-2 shows the age of arrival distribution.

TABLE 1-2
AGE OF ARRIVAL OF SUBJECTS

Age of Arrival	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Number of Subjects	12	0	3	2	2	6	3	1	0	3	1

Of the thirty-three subjects, nineteen were born in the United States or arrived by age four, while fourteen arrived between the ages of five and ten. All but two subjects had resided in Little Havana for the majority of the time they had been in the United States. One subject had moved from the Midwest three years previously, while the other had grown up in a city situated to the northwest of Miami.

All the subjects were bilingual, scoring at Level 5, the highest level, on the Bilingual Syntax Measure.

Using Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (Miller 1977:217), Table 1-3 shows the socioeconomic status of the subjects' fathers. Since, in several instances, the father did not live with the family, this status does not in all cases reflect the subject's home environment.

TABLE 1-3
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHERS

Occupation	Number
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	3
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	6
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	10
Operatives and kindred workers	2
Service workers, including private household	4
Laborers, except farm and mine	0
Unknown	6

Table 1-3 shows a wide distribution of socioeconomic levels, with the largest group composed of middle-level occupations. This is not surprising, since Cooney and Contreras (1978), in a study that will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two, established that Cuban-Americans in the Miami area did not divide into neighborhoods along socioeconomic lines to the same extent as in other large cities.

1.3.4 Research Design

To lessen any disruption of the student's school routine and private life, the present study was designed to involve the least interference possible in the student's daily schedule. Personal records were not requested and the interviews were limited to the period that the students were attending their English classes.¹⁴

Three measurements were included in the research design to elicit three styles of spoken English using methods similar to those employed by Labov et al. (1968), Wolfram (1969), and Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971) in their studies on Black and Puerto Rican English. The first instrument (see Appendix D) was a paragraph to be read aloud which incorporated the following six morphemes: the contracted third-person singular copula, the contracted third-person singular progressive auxiliary, the third-person singular verb marker, the possessive, the plural, and the past tense marker. Homophonous monomorphemic forms were also included. Whenever applicable, the morphemes were incorporated both in environments where deletion would result in ambiguity and in those where other syntactic/semantic elements redundantly marked grammatical function.

A less formal speech style was elicited by the second method of measurement, the Bilingual Syntax Measure, used by Dulay and Burt (1973) and Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974) in their studies. This is a

commercial test requiring brief answers to questions about accompanying cartoon pictures. The English version was used to evaluate proficiency in the use of several inflectional endings and verbal forms, including the noun plural marker, the possessive marker, the third-person plural marker, the past tense, the copula, the present progressive, and the perfective. In addition to the English version of the measure, the Spanish version was also administered to establish the subject's fluency in Spanish.

Finally, an informal interview (see Appendix E) was included to elicit a less formal speech style which encouraged free conversation. The format of this interview was modeled after those in the works of Labov et al. (1968), Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1968), Fasold (1972), Wolfram (1969), and Wolfram (1973). It also took into consideration work by Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971), Cohen (1975), and Labov (1981). Questions were chosen that would elicit extended discussion of events in the past, present, and future. These questions concerned the subject, a third person, and groups in the school, home, and community setting. This variety thus permitted the widest grammatical range of language usage, while maintaining a conversational tone.

Once the format of the testing procedure had been developed, a pretest using the instruments cited above was administered to a Cuban-American student from Miami attending the University of Florida.

1.3.5 Data Gathering Procedure

In May of 1982, an individual interview was conducted with each subject. First the subject was asked to read the passage that measured inflectional endings, and then he or she was given the Bilingual Syntax Measure in English. After that the subject was informally interviewed by

means of the conversation measure for approximately twenty minutes. Finally, the Bilingual Syntax Measure was administered in Spanish.¹⁵

While the students had not met the author previously and were interviewed at the school, the conditions of the interview were relatively informal. The setting was a cluttered supply room and the author was casual during the interview. All of the subjects appeared to enjoy the session and enthusiasm for the project increased during the course of the interviews, with additional students volunteering as time went on.

The format of the session was so designed as to go from a more formal language situation, reading, to a less formal context, free conversation. The use of the Bilingual Syntax Measure assured that no written testing was involved and no threatening testing atmosphere was created. The rather infantile level of the test also provided an opportunity for the interviewer to joke with the students, so that by the time the informal interview began both parties were relatively relaxed. Instead of a formal interview atmosphere, the effect was one of casual conversation between an adult and a student. Since no subject used English exclusively in any less formal circumstances, there was no attempt to elicit informal conversation under a less-structured method.

During the interviews, no effort was made to hide the microphone, which was placed on a table near the subject and next to a back-up microphone. However, after the Bilingual Syntax Measure in English had been administered, the interviewer leaned back from the microphones, ignoring the recorders, which associated their use with the first two parts of the interview and not with the conversation.

Until the point that the Spanish part of the Bilingual Syntax Measure was administered, no Spanish was used by the author in order to encourage the subject to speak only English. However, there was no attempt made to deny familiarity with the language.

Initially the subjects were recorded on both a Uher 400L reel-to-reel tape recorder and a Bell and Howell IC solid state cassette recorder, using high-quality, low-noise tapes. However, because of equipment problems, the reel-to-reel recorder could not be used for the majority of the subjects. Therefore, only the cassette tapes were analyzed. For several subjects there were reel-to-reel as well as cassette tapes. These were compared and found to be of similar quality.

1.3.6 Data Analysis

In all, eighteen hours of recorded material were obtained from the sessions. Of these, eleven and one-half hours represented the thirty-three free-conversation interviews. In the analysis of the paragraph and Bilingual Syntax Measure, any variation in the forms being measured was noted. For the informal interviews, both a phonetic and an orthographic transcription were made, first with the use of earphones and then with high-quality stereo speakers to enhance the clarity of the recordings. Any variation from the educated monolingual English norm for Miami was then noted.¹⁶ This variation included phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of the language.

The resulting variation proved to be very low in frequency for both phonological and nonphonological aspects of the Cuban-Americans' English. Because of this low level, traditional analyses were not possible in many cases. However, were these data to be dismissed as merely slips of the tongue, a generality would be missed. It is not each aspect of variation

taken separately that defines a particular variety of English, but the collective occurrence of these forms. Though often of a sporadic nature, these variant forms together represent a variety of English that is perceived as differing from the surrounding monolingual varieties.

Therefore, a less quantitative approach was often necessary for the data analysis. Any method that required breaking the data into numerous subcategories was impossible. For example, in Labov's variable rule, the data are subcategorized into smaller and smaller groups. Even with large data bases, eventually these groups may contain so few occurrences that the results are invalid. For the data in the present study, only very broad subcategories were possible.

For the phonological data, as suggested by Rosansky (1976:412) for studies on morpheme variation, this study used a group mean, which "is obtained by taking each subject's proportion, eliminating those individuals with two or fewer obligatory occasions . . . and computing the mean of all remaining subjects' scores." This method assures that those subjects who are more verbal do not dominate the results as they do in a group score, which "entails adding up all the subjects' obligatory occasions . . . to obtain a pooled denominator" (Rosansky 1976:412).

For the distributions of variant forms according to linguistic environment, only those subjects with that particular variation were included in the sample. This method thus eliminated the data of those subjects who did not partake in the distribution process under discussion, providing a clearer contrast between linguistic environments for those subjects who did show variation.

For the nonphonological elements, with the exception of morphological variation, no attempt was made to quantify the data in relation to overall production, and instead examples of different types of variation are presented.

These data are discussed in relation to the format that follows. In Chapter Two a general perspective of Cuban-American acculturation is given through the historical circumstances that led to Cuban immigration and the resulting sociological conditions that relate to acculturation and language usage. This information is then related to the sociodemographic situation of the subjects in the present work.

Chapter Three presents a description of the Spanish phonology of the Cuban-Americans and contrasts this system with a monolingual educated English norm. This contrastive analysis is then applied to the discussion of phonological variation found in other varieties of Hispanic English. In a later chapter this phonological contrastive analysis provides a basis for the discussion of the sources of phonological variation in the English of the Cuban-American subjects in the present study.

A similar contrastive analysis is not, however, included for the nonphonological variant forms, since the evidence presented in this chapter suggests this method is less relevant to grammatical and lexical variation. Instead, specific contrasts are provided when necessary.

Chapter Four addresses the phonological variation found in the English of the Cuban-American subjects. The segments showing the greatest percentage of variant forms are analyzed to determine the Spanish and developmental language sources of this variation. The

linguistic environments that influence this variation are also examined. Finally, the phonological variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans is compared to that found in other varieties of Hispanic English.

Chapter Five discusses nonphonological variation in relation to Spanish and developmental language sources. This chapter also examines the relationship of morphological variation to speech style. As with phonological variation, the nonphonological variation is then compared to that present in other varieties of Hispanic English.

In Chapter Six, several sociodemographic factors related to variation are identified. The percentage of phonological and nonphonological variation for each subject is compared to twelve sociodemographic variables. In addition, those phonological variables with the greatest frequency of variation are related to the sociodemographic variables. Finally, the implications of these sociodemographic variables are also explored. Chapter Six summarizes the study, presenting conclusions based on the data in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

1.4 Summary

The present chapter has examined the role of the acculturation process in relation to second language acquisition and language variation in the bilingual community. The latter was shown to be both a cause and result of variation in the language of the individual. Various factors related to a lack of social acculturation isolate the group from the monolingual educated norm, while affective factors and other variables associated with the individual's language acquisition influence the degree to which this language will vary. The acculturation and other acquisition factors are manifested in the language community in the form

of sociodemographic variables. These variables, along with the linguistic environment, grammatical structure, and speech style, are related to the frequency with which variation occurs in the language of the community. The form of this variation is determined by language transfer and developmental sources, as well as by the influence of community norms.

In the succeeding chapters, these aspects of variation will be explored in relation to the English spoken by the Cuban-American second generation in Little Havana.

Notes

¹The term second generation will be used in the manner of Wolfram's (1973) study to refer to those children, either U.S. born or arriving in childhood, whose parents came to the United States as adults.

²The term Hispanic will be used, both as an adjective and a noun, to denote "of Spanish-speaking heritage."

³Linguistic studies have traditionally used the term variation to designate the differences between the language spoken by a community and the "educated monolingual norm," that is, the variety of English taught in the schools. Cohen (1975) refers to this educated variety as "school" English grammar. In contrast, the individual's differences from this norm are labeled "errors," particularly in relation to the process of acquiring a second or foreign language. However, Corder (1967:165) pointed out that

when a two year old child produces an utterance such as "This mummy chair" we do not normally call this deviant, ill-formed, faulty, incorrect or whatever. We do not regard it as an error in any sense at all, but rather as a normal childlike communication which provides evidence of the state of his linguistic development at that moment.

This statement likewise applies to second language acquisition.

Therefore, to avoid this inconsistency in terminology, all forms that differ from the monolingual educated norm will be covered by the term "variation." Although this potentially includes slips of the tongue, it is argued that these forms too are relevant in a discussion of language variation, particularly that of the second language speaker.

⁴For a history of the Spanish language in the U.S. see Craddock (1973).

⁵These statistics are from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982c:2).

⁶The Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department (1981:1) study established that 124,786 Cubans entered the United States during 1980. However, it is possible that with undocumented refugees the actual figure may have been somewhat higher.

⁷The term Chicano will be used as a synonym for Mexican-American. Peñalosa (1980:2) noted that expressed in the simplest terms, the Chicano population consists of persons of Mexican descent who are resident in the United States. They are overwhelmingly of United States birth and citizenship; in fact, a great majority are native born of native parents. The unity of this population is contested by some who prefer to distinguish the "assimilated" from the "nonassimilated" or Mexican-born "Mexicans" from U.S.-born "Chicanos" or Spanish Americans from Mexican Americans. Such simplistic dichotomizing or typologizing is probably fruitless, as Chicanos are an extremely heterogeneous population that varies along every conceivable social dimension.

⁸For a history of Hispanics in the Southwest, see Christian and Christian (1966).

⁹This statistic is from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982c:7).

¹⁰Fradd (1983:8) considered as "Cuban" those people "who have recently migrated to the U.S. and still retain a sense of identification with their homeland which sets them apart from Cubans who have been in the U.S. for longer periods of time," whereas "Cuban-Americans" are those who "have experienced at least in part the acculturation process which links them with the customs and culture of the U.S." The term "Cuban-Cuban" was applied to those who still resided in Cuba. This division was employed to distinguish between the refugees who arrived in the sixties and seventies as opposed to the 1980 arrivals. However, the present study will instead follow the approach Peñalosa used for the term "Chicano" and consider as Cuban-Americans those people of Cuban origin now residing in the United States. The noun Cuban will be applied to those people who permanently reside in Cuba or who have not settled outside the country. The adjective Cuban will be used as a synonym for "Cuban-origin."

¹¹The United States Bureau of the Census (1982b:134) listed 406,204 persons of Cuban origin in Urbanized Miami. In addition, Llanes (1982:183) claimed that 69,000 of the 1980 arrivals have remained in Dade County. It is likely that since then even more of this group has returned to the Miami area as this was the pattern for earlier arrivals.

¹²Little Havana is popularly referred to as the cultural center for Cuban-Americans. The Carnival Miami Organization stated in a hand-out on Little Havana that "ever since the 1960's with the Cuban exodus, the area of Miami known as Little Havana has become the emotional and cultural center of more than 750,000 Hispanics that call South Florida home."

¹³See Mackey and Beebe (1977) for a discussion of bilingual education in the Dade County School System.

¹⁴The decision not to request personal records was also made to expedite securing permission from the Dade County School System to conduct the study. However, this prevented obtaining information on the bilingual educational background of the subjects.

¹⁵The directions for administering the Bilingual Syntax Measure recommend that the Spanish version be given several hours apart from the English version. However, since a long period of conversation separated the two parts, it was felt that an adequate period of time intervened. Further, the Spanish version was only used to establish the subjects' fluency in this language. That fluency in Spanish is not necessarily a prerequisite for Spanish-influenced English was pointed out by Metcalf (1979:1):

For a Spanish accent does not always mean a Spanish speaker. The Southwest today includes many hundreds of thousands--perhaps millions--of people whose native language is a special variety of

English with a Spanish sound to it. The curious thing about this Spanish accent is that it is often heard from people who have no ability to speak or understand Spanish, people who are monolingual as well as perfectly fluent in English.

¹⁶ The speech of the Anglo community in Miami has not been described to any extent in the literature on linguistics. However, this population is represented by persons from the East, Midwest, and South, combining linguistic characteristics of these three regions. The United States Bureau of the Census (1982a:687) established that, of the 1,625,781 persons residing in Dade County in 1980, only 406,556 were born in Florida. Of those born outside the state, 578,055 were foreign born, 293,197 were born in the Northeast region of the U.S., 178,873 in the South, 107,250 in the North Central region, and 21,242 in the West. The remaining 40,608 were U.S. citizens born abroad. The present study accepted the educated norm for the Northeast, South, and North Central regions as characteristic of the prevailing educated monolingual norms in Dade County. Whereas the written regional norms are practically identical, the spoken norms, particularly the informal registers, vary to some degree. This is especially true of the phonological inventories. In the present study, the informal educated spoken norms for the major dialect areas of the United States were defined as those established, either explicitly or implicitly, in the studies on Chicano English discussed in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CUBAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL
AND SOCIOLOGICAL SETTING

2.1 Introduction

The historical and social background of the Cuban-Americans must be considered in order to understand their acculturation process and its effect on the variety of English spoken in the ethnic community. Because of historical circumstances, the Cuban-American population in the United States differs from other Hispanic groups in several ways. Unlike Mexican-Americans and, to a lesser degree, Puerto Ricans, the Cuban-Americans have only recently constituted a major Hispanic entity in the United States. Further, unlike previous Hispanic groups, Cubans did not come to the United States primarily for economic advancement but instead to escape the political situation in Cuba. The Cubans that arrived in the 1960's were not the socially, economically, and educationally disadvantaged but instead represented for the most part the middle and upper classes of Cuban society. Finally, although recently there has been some resentment toward Cuban-Americans in South Florida, overall they have been more positively regarded than other Hispanic groups. This is undoubtedly due at least in part to the closer similarity between the Cuban-Americans and middle-class America.

As Chapter One pointed out, Gordon (1964) believed that prejudice and discrimination and the resulting lack of a middle class were the principal factors in the slow acculturation of the Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. The Cuban-Americans would thus be

expected to show greater acculturation and an accompanying proficiency in English. However, Schumann (1978) claimed that lack of contact with the host society also inhibited acculturation. Like the other Hispanic groups, large numbers of Cuban-Americans remained in or returned to the ethnic community. In this respect they would be expected to show less acculturation and English language ability than their socioeconomic level would predict.

Although numerous studies have been done on various aspects of the Cuban-American community in the United States, one area of their lives has been surprisingly neglected in the literature: their language. While several sociological studies have noted that lack of English has caused major difficulties for the Cuban refugees, little systematic investigation has been done on this issue. Occasionally, articles have appeared in the Miami Herald and elsewhere commenting on the lack of English proficiency in the Cuban community and at times criticizing the lack of Spanish proficiency as well.¹ Yet, there is a paucity of research on the nature of the language spoken by Cuban-Americans in Miami.

This chapter summarizes the historical background of the mass emigration from Cuba and discusses several of the sociological studies on acculturation that have resulted from this exodus. Specifically, English language proficiency is investigated, with an emphasis on the language of the large Cuban communities in the United States.

2.2 Historical Background

The principal reason for the emergence of a significant Cuban-American population in the United States can be attributed to a single historical event: the assumption of power by Fidel Castro and his 26th

of July Movement on January 1, 1959. The repercussions of this event have proven to be of major political, social, and economic significance.

In the early morning of January 1, 1959, Fulgencio Batista, dictator of Cuba since 1952, boarded a plane and departed the island, thereby opening the way for Fidel Castro and his followers to assume power in Cuba. During the ensuing days and weeks those connected with the Batista regime also fled the island or took refuge in various foreign embassies. The destination for the majority of these exiles was the United States.²

Not surprisingly, the largest number of Cuban military and police arrived in the United States in 1959 and 1960. Domestic service occupations were also over-represented during this period. In the first major study done on the Cuban refugees, Fagen et al. (1963) suggested that this over-representation was due to wealthy families bringing their servants with them. The departure of lawyers and judges was likewise concentrated during 1959 and late 1960.³ The Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean Center for Advanced International Studies (1967) at the University of Miami, in a study entitled The Cuban Immigration 1959-1966 and its Impact on Miami-Dade County, Florida, suggested that lawyers were in a particularly advantageous position to observe the direction of the Castro regime and the first to feel economic pressure. The emigration of other groups was fairly constant, with a predominance of wealthy, well-educated, and occupationally advantaged persons in the early period.⁴

However, for many people the downfall of Batista and the rise of the charismatic Fidel heralded a new and hopeful beginning. Castro offered the possibility of economic reform and an end to political

corruption. Despite its support of the Batista dictatorship, the United States quickly recognized the new government.

Nevertheless, political disenchantment soon began. In May of 1959, the Agrarian Law was enacted, breaking up large land holdings. Although it affected only a small percentage of the population, this law signaled the beginning of a series of reforms, each reaching a larger portion of the population.

Perhaps the first major indication of the Communist influence in Cuba came in July of 1959, when President Urrutia was forced by Castro to resign for publicly voicing anticommunist sentiments. A similar event occurred the following October. The military governor of Camaguey and fourteen of his fellow officers resigned, claiming that the revolution was being infiltrated by Communists. In December, these officers were tried for antipatriotic and antirevolutionary conduct, receiving sentences ranging up to twenty years in jail. Fagen et al. (1968) cited these two events as motivating factors in the decision by many Cubans to leave Cuba. Soon a steady flow of refugees entered the United States from Cuba. In 1959, 62,000 Cubans arrived in the U.S.⁵

During early 1960, Russian influence began to appear in Cuba. Russian dignitaries visited the island, while Cuban delegates traveled to Russia in search of aid, both economic and military. Cuba and Russia established formal diplomatic relations in May of 1960. At the same time any remaining freedom of the press was ended. During 1960, 60,781 Cubans left the island for the United States.

It was 1961 that proved to be the most decisive year in establishing the future direction of Cuba. In January of 1961, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba. The following

month the Cuban Refugee Program was initiated by the U.S. Federal Government.

During this period the refugees were also organizing in the hope of recapturing the island. On April 15, 1960, several airfields in Cuba were bombed in preparation for the April 17th invasion at the Bay of Pigs. On the day before this invasion, Castro announced to a large crowd in Havana that the Cuban revolution was socialistic.

The following morning, April 17th, the Bay of Pigs invasion began. The 2506 brigade, a group of Cuban refugees backed and trained by the CIA, fought for three days. However, from the beginning the invasion was doomed both by the lack of a full commitment by the United States and by a lack of coordination with rebel groups inside of Cuba. Moreover, between the 15th and 17th of April, almost 100,000 persons were arrested in Cuba, including the vast majority of the underground.

The failure of the invasion not only polarized relations between the United States and Cuba but also brought about the realization by Cubans both within and outside the country that Castro would not easily be removed from power. Fagen et al. (1968) cited the failure of the Bay of Pigs Invasion as a major factor in the decision to leave Cuba for 10% of their respondents. Other factors noted were the tightening of security and the arrests made during the invasion. In December, Castro announced his Marxist-Leninist orientation. By the end of 1961, 50,857 more Cubans had entered the United States.

The year 1962 brought Cuba a decline in production and supplies, including household goods, so that food rationing was inaugurated. Fearing another invasion, Castro turned to Russia for increased military supplies, including short, medium, and intermediate range missiles. The

presence of these missiles in Cuba in turn brought about a naval blockade of the island by the United States in October of 1962.

As a result of this incident, known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, U.S.-Cuban relations deteriorated further and flights between Cuba and Miami were suspended. Thus, Cubans could no longer travel directly to the United States, instead arriving in the U.S. via a third country, usually Mexico, Spain, Jamaica, Colombia, or Venezuela.⁶ In spite of the termination of flights from Cuba to the United States, 73,632 Cubans reached the U.S. in 1962.

With the suspension of flights, what has been called the First Wave of immigration came to an end.⁷ Although on the average the refugees leaving Cuba were progressively younger, less educated, and from lower occupational levels, overall they still constituted a considerably better educated, more affluent, older, and more urban sector than was representative of the island at the time.⁸

After the termination of direct flights to the United States from Cuba, Cuban immigration declined considerably. From 1963 to 1965, Cubans came to the United States most often through Mexico or Spain. During 1963, 15,535 Cubans entered the U.S., while in 1964, 15,045 managed to do so.

Illegal escape was also possible using small boats, rafts, or other flotation devices. Clark (1975) found that those who escaped by water were more representative of the overall sociodemographic composition of the Cuban population. The peak years for illegal escape were 1961-1964, during which a total of 7,549 escapees reached the U.S.⁹

In September of 1965, Castro unexpectedly offered to permit open emigration, except for males between fifteen and twenty-six years of age

and those in certain technical and skilled occupations. Cuban refugees in the United States were allowed to pick up relatives at the port of Camarioca. In December, 1965, the boatlift was replaced by the Varadero-Miami airlift. The rationale for these flights was to provide an orderly exit and to assure priority for the reunion of immediate relatives. In 1965, 25,366 Cubans entered the United States.

With the existence of the reunification or freedom flights from Cuba, there were two flights a day, five days a week until August, 1971. After that date the flights were more sporadic until their cancellation in April, 1973. The period from 1965 to 1973 constitutes the Second Wave of Cuban immigration. An average of close to 50,000 Cubans a year arrived in the U.S. between 1966 and 1971. In 1972 and 1973, only slightly more than 11,000 refugees arrived each year. The total influx between 1966 and 1973 was 320,115 persons.

After the end of the flights from Cuba to Miami, leaving the island was practically impossible as a result of travel restrictions and precautions taken against illegal departures. However, because of an easing of restrictions on entrance from third countries, 16,106 Cubans came to the United States in 1974. After this year, the number of Cubans entering the U.S. declined.

In 1979, after years of separation from their birthplace, Cuban-Americans living in the United States were allowed to travel to Cuba. Over 100,000 did so during that year bringing gifts and stories of a better life. These visits not only renewed contact with the Cubans on the island but also increased unrest in Cuba.¹⁰

In April of 1980, following the example set by several Cubans earlier in the year, people began to fill the Peruvian Embassy in Havana

seeking political asylum. Within three days some 10,000 people crowded into the compound. Once again Castro opened emigration, this time from the port of Mariel, thereby initiating the Third Wave of refugees. Between April and December of 1980, approximately 125,000 Cubans crossed from Mariel to Key West.

Since 1980, conditions have returned to a status similar to that before the Third Wave. It is more difficult for Cubans to leave the island and there are comparatively few Cubans immigrating to the United States.

2.3 The Cuban-American Population

Scarcely twenty-five years ago the Cuban-origin population in the United States was so small it was rarely singled out for discussion. Research on U.S. Hispanics centered around the Chicano population in the Southwest and the Puerto Rican population in New York. The few Cuban-Americans in the United States lived primarily in New York, because of the job opportunities and established Hispanic population, or in Florida, because of its proximity to Cuba and the historical connections with the cigar industry in Key West and Tampa.¹¹ The 1950 U.S. census listed only 30,409 Cuban-born persons living in the United States.¹² No Cuban-origin category existed at that time. However, as noted above, due to the political situation in Cuba, the Cuban-American population in the United States increased dramatically in little over twenty years. By 1980, the Cuban-origin population was listed as 803,226 persons.¹³ Furthermore, since that census at least 124,786 additional Cubans have entered the United States, placing the total number of persons of Cuban origin at approximately one million.¹⁴

Of the 803,226 persons of Cuban origin listed in the 1980 U.S. census, which excludes the Third Wave of refugees, a majority of 470,250, or 58.5%, lived in Florida. New Jersey was the next most populated state, with 80,860 Cuban-Americans, while New York was third, with 76,942 persons, and California fourth, with 61,004 persons. Illinois had 19,063 persons of Cuban origin and Texas, 14,124. No other state accounted for more than 10,000 Cubans.¹⁵

The 1980 influx significantly increased the already large Cuban-origin population in Florida. It has been estimated that 75% of these 1980 arrivals, i.e. 97,500 persons, remained in the Miami area.¹⁶ Furthermore, resettled Cuban-Americans from all three waves continue to return to Miami. Clearly then, Florida, or more specifically South Florida, is the center of Cuban-origin population in the United States. In the 1980 U.S. census, Dade County was listed as having a Cuban-origin population of 407,253 and a total of 580,994 persons of Spanish origin out of 1,625,781 inhabitants. Greater Miami accounted for 406,204 Cuban-Americans, over one-fourth of its entire population. The Cuban-origin population of the City of Hialeah was 87,586, or 60% of the total population of 145,254.¹⁷

The only other area of highly concentrated Cuban-origin population is in New Jersey. In the 1980 census Hudson County had 45,419 persons of Cuban origin out of 145,163 Hispanics and a total of 556,972 total inhabitants. Two cities, which actually adjoin to form one community, had the highest concentration of Cuban-Americans: Union City in Hudson County, with 17,661 Cuban-Americans out of 55,593 inhabitants, and West New York in Bergen County, with 15,593 Cuban-Americans out of 39,194 total inhabitants. Both cities had large Hispanic populations, 35,525 in

Union City and 24,735 in West New York, including a large Puerto Rican population.¹⁸

However, within the city of Miami even greater areas of concentration exist. Prohias and Casal (1973) claimed that one out of five persons of Cuban origin in the Miami area lived in Little Havana. In 1973 this area had approximately 45,000 Cuban-Americans. Depending on the boundaries used to define the Little Havana area of Miami, the Hispanic population in 1983 may have exceeded 150,000.¹⁹ No similar concentration of Cuban-Americans is to be found elsewhere in the United States.

2.4 Sociological Studies

At first little was known about the Cuban refugees. However, by the late sixties sociological studies began to appear. In addition to sociodemographic information, the focus of several studies was the acculturation of the refugees.

As Chapter One noted, Schumann (1978) included seven social factors related to the acculturation process. Two of these dealt with socioeconomic level and the accompanying social behavior: social dominance patterns and congruence. Three factors concerned living patterns, including the effect of the ethnic community: assimilation, preservation, and adaptation; enclosure; and cohesiveness and size. The sixth factor incorporated the attitude of the host and immigrant groups toward each other, while the seventh factor was the intended length of residence. Along with affective factors, these social factors influence the degree of acculturation and subsequent acquisition of the host language.

2.4.1 Socioeconomic Level

The socioeconomic development of the Cuban-Americans would be expected to promote acculturation. Even when the refugees were forced to leave their money and possessions behind, they brought with them an educational background and professional expertise that helped in achieving socioeconomic success in the United States. However, the level of this success did not always match that previously achieved in Cuba.

Fagen et al. (1968) described the First Wave of Cubans who arrived between 1959 and 1962. Using the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami as their base, the authors distributed questionnaires to 209 male heads of household. With the information from these and other sources, Fagen et al. (1968) gave a detailed breakdown of the Cuban refugees' backgrounds. These first refugees were better educated and from a higher socioeconomic level than the average Cuban of that period. The vast majority came from Havana or other large cities rather than rural areas and few Blacks were represented.

As time progressed the composition of the refugees changed somewhat. The Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean Center for Advanced International Studies (1967) compiled several sources of data. In this study it was noted that the Second Wave brought considerably more females than males.

Clark (1975), in his study on Cuban exiles, used 266 respondents from the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami and 354 airlift arrivals. In addition, he included data from a study done with Dr. Alejandro Portes.²⁰ Clark (1975) found that whereas the early exiles were mainly below fifty years of age, by the mid-1960's the dominant group was fifty and above. This was due, at least in part, to the

reunification program, which brought relatives, including older members of the family, to the United States. Further, this later group was comprised of more working-class people with an intermediate level of education.

In the 1970's the trend towards lower occupational and educational levels continued but the age group was younger. Further, fewer people came from Havana in later years.

The refugees that were most representative of the Cuban population as a whole were the escapees and Third Wave. They were younger and less educated, with the most blue-collar and non-white participants.²¹

Although the Cuban refugees were generally from the middle and upper class sectors, the sudden and large influx of refugees in South Florida caused by the first two waves placed a strain on the Dade County economy, making jobs scarce. Therefore, one of the goals of the Cuban refugee program was to resettle refugees outside the Miami area in order to ease the burden on that community.

Clark (1975) discussed two stages in the resettlement process. In the first, which lasted until the beginning of the Second Wave, many refugees first received vocational training in Miami before being resettled. However, during the second stage there was only a brief stay in Miami before reunification with relatives elsewhere. Clark (1975) suggested that adaptation for the second group was easier because of relatives and an established Cuban community awaiting the refugees.

In all, approximately 300,000 refugees were relocated. Of those who registered with the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami, 64.8% settled outside South Florida. The refugees were resettled primarily in New York and New Jersey and to a lesser extent in Puerto Rico,

California, and Illinois, although all fifty states were involved to varying degrees.

The refugees who were resettled outside the ethnic communities were more likely to assimilate. To begin with, they represented a more affluent, better educated group. An early study on Cuban-Americans in Indianapolis, by Prohlias (1967), presented a summary of his unpublished study which had been cited in several other works. It incorporated information on approximately one-third of the seventy-two male heads of household identified in the Cuban community of Indianapolis. This group showed an exceptionally high level of educational attainment, with 47.9% having completed four years of college and the remainder, high school or vocational training. In contrast, only 12.5% of Fagen et al.'s (1968:19) Miami respondents had completed four or more years of college. Although most of Prohlias' (1967) sample had a lower job status in the U.S. than they had had in Cuba, 56.5% earned as much or more than they had in that country.

In his study on forty-eight families in Milwaukee, Portes (1969) found that assimilation depended on a perceived improvement between socioeconomic status in Cuba and the United States. Likewise, if the socioeconomic status was perceived to be better than had been expected, assimilation was greater. However, there was only a trend toward a relationship between length of residency and assimilation, and no relationship between educational level and assimilation. Portes (1969) attributed this lack of educational influence on assimilation to the fact that there was more likely to be a drop in socioeconomic level for those with a higher level of education.

An optimistic report on the socioeconomic status of Cuban-Americans was given in a brief study by Wenk (1968). This work included 1,127 Cuban-Americans in 200 families, which Wenk (1968) claimed to be representative of the Cuban-origin population in the United States. Unfortunately, the table with this information was omitted from the study. Further, the distribution table only included resettled Cuban-Americans, not those who remained in South Florida. Wenk (1968) found that although the Cuban-Americans experienced a downward mobility, there were several indications that they would be able to regain their previous socioeconomic status. Wenk's (1968:49) conclusion was that

our analysis illustrated once again that the majority of Cubans assimilated and adjusted rather quickly (generally between 1 and 3 years), that the majority also feel that their expectations of this country have been fulfilled in one manner or another, and that as a consequence they are effective and useful members of their new found communities.

Moncarz (1970a,b,c; 1972) presented a less optimistic picture for professional adjustment of specific occupational groups. For each profession, Moncarz sent out one hundred questionnaires, receiving a response from roughly one-third to one-half of each group. Moncarz' studies revealed that while some groups, such as physicians, were able to continue in their previous occupation, many others, particularly lawyers, were forced to find other professions.

Other studies supported this less optimistic view of Cuban adjustment. Prohias and Casal (1973) compiled a comprehensive study of the Cuban refugees. They gathered together numerous sources to present sociodemographic information, review existing refugee programs, and make recommendations to meet additional needs. Included in this study were a review of previous literature and a detailed annotated bibliography.

Prohias and Casal (1973) took issue with the success story claimed by Wenk (1968) and others, pointing out that Cuban-Americans received lower pay in relation to Anglo-Americans and often did not regain their previous occupation level.²²

This downward trend also occurred for the later arrivals. Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) interviewed 590 male heads of household from the Second and post-Second Wave influx. The sample in this study showed a lower educational level than in earlier groups. Whereas more than 35% of Fagen et al.'s (1968) sample had attained twelve years of education, only 22% of the respondents in Portes, Clark, and Bach's (1977) sample had done so. The subjects were also predominantly from the middle service sectors. Like the more educated and higher socioeconomic groups, the subjects in Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) experienced an overall downward mobility, 60% not having attained previous occupational levels.

A more recent study, by Diaz (1981), included Miami and Union City-West New York, and to a lesser extent New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Diaz (1981) used a total of 1568 questionnaires along with twenty interviews in each city. Like previous studies, Diaz (1981) noted that while Cuban-Americans were better off than other Hispanic groups, they were less affluent than non-Hispanic whites. Further, the gap between Cuban-Americans and other Hispanic groups was narrowing. Union City and Miami were found to have similar Cuban-American populations and to be representative of the U.S. Cuban-origin population as a whole. This is not surprising, since a considerable majority of the Cuban-American population in the United States lives in these two areas. However, the level of education was slightly higher in Miami and even more so in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York.

In contrast to Diaz' (1981) findings, Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981), in a follow-up study to Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977), found that economically, there was an overall improvement in the status of their respondents. The subjects perceived an increase in economic opportunities substantiated by a decrease in unemployment, from 14% in 1976 to 4.8% in 1979. There was also an increase in professional and managerial positions, from 6.6% to 14.0%. Other professions showed little difference, with only a small increase in skilled blue-collar jobs. There was a considerable drop in employment in private firms, accompanied by a noticeable increase in self-employed business, from 7.0% in 1976 to 19.2% in 1979. Ethnic ownership of place of employment had increased from 39.2% to 49.0%.

There exists, therefore, some contradiction as to the socioeconomic status of the Cuban-Americans. Nevertheless, in comparison to other Hispanic groups, the Cuban-Americans are more similar to the Anglo-American middle class. Further, the second generation has shown evidence of upward mobility. A study by the Center for Advanced International Studies (1969) at the University of Miami, entitled The Psycho-social Dynamics of Miami, included a study of the post-high school plans of 146 Cuban-American youths aged thirteen to nineteen. Of these subjects, 86% attended or planned to attend college, while 11% were enrolled in or had plans to enroll in vocational training.

Thus, though the Cuban-Americans experienced some downward mobility, which had a negative effect on acculturation, overall the socioeconomic level of the Cuban-Americans and the aspirations of the second generation would be expected to favor acculturation and the acquisition of English through assimilation and congruence.

2.4.2 Preservation, Enclosure, Cohesiveness, and the Ethnic Community

While the socioeconomic level promoted acculturation, the ethnic community inhibited assimilation by isolating the Cuban-Americans from the Anglo community. Particularly in Miami and West New York-Union City, New Jersey, the large and cohesive Hispanic communities were not conducive to acculturation and the acquisition of English.

Rogg (1974) noted that historically two main indices have been used to measure cultural assimilation (by Gordon's definition): acculturation and personal adjustment. She proposed that "personal adjustment measures the individual's contentment with the new country, his ability to handle the many new difficulties and frustrations he faces in daily living in a new physical and social environment" (Rogg 1974:3). Rogg (1974:2) also claimed that

there is a general acceptance of the hypothesis that the formation of a strong concentrated community in which immigrants are able to perpetuate some features of their native culture is favorable to their adjustment but slows down their acculturation in the short run. In the long run, acculturation is facilitated.

This adjustment is related to Schumann's (1978) affective factors.

Those Cuban-Americans who lived apart from the ethnic community were initially more likely to acculturate both because of higher educational level and professional skills and because of the greater need to learn the host language and life style, that is, to assimilate by Schumann's (1978) definition.

One change the Cuban-Americans living outside the ethnic community underwent was in family roles. Gibboney (1967) investigated parental role change primarily in the Greater Washington, D.C., area, though respondents from Baltimore, Maryland, and Columbus, Ohio, were also

included. The author used 150 questionnaires and twenty-two interviews to identify three factors contributing to role change among Cuban parents: change in status of family composition, change in socioeconomic status, and change in mother's work status. These factors were less likely to occur in the ethnic community.

However, in spite of the greater acculturation outside the ethnic community, some isolation still existed for the Cuban-Americans. Prohias (1967) found that in Indianapolis both community and personal interchange with Anglo-Americans was low. The Cuban-Americans he interviewed lived near to and socialized with each other rather than the Anglo community. Prohias (1967) claimed that even the second generation had limited contacts with the Anglo community. He predicted that integration into the larger community would not come easily.

Nevertheless, Portes (1969:516) believed that

the fate of those migrating to the United States as a result of the Cuban Revolution seems to be an eventual assimilation, and hence disappearance as a social entity, into the life of American society, leaving behind, perhaps, some cultural imprints on Miami and a few other U.S. cities.

As Portes (1969) noted, it was the ethnic community that maintained Cuban culture. While slowing acculturation, the preservation of Cuban culture also provided advantages to the refugees that relocation did not. Because of this, many resettled refugees returned to the Miami area.

The Cuban ethnic community in Miami has been increasing since the early 1960's both through continuing immigration and the return of relocated Cuban-Americans. Prohias and Casal (1973) noted the tendency of the resettled Cuban-Americans to return to Miami, claiming a 12%-22% return rate. Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) reported similar findings. Likewise, in a study of 601 heads of households, Levitan (1980) found

that 34.6% of her sample were resettled Cuban-Americans who had returned to the Miami area.

Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) also noted that those Cuban-Americans already living in the Miami area intended to remain there. The follow-up study, by Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981), confirmed this intention. Almost all the original respondents had remained in the Miami area. There was, however, a tendency to move to Hialeah and unincorporated Dade County. This trend was due in part to the desire to buy homes, which were more plentiful in these areas. Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981) found an increase in home ownership from 14% in 1976 to 40.0% in 1979. The ethnic composition of the subjects' neighborhoods had also changed somewhat, from 74.1% to 61.4% Hispanic. However, the majority continued to live in ethnic communities.

In addition to the affective factors, such as cultural shock, which were avoided by living in the ethnic community, there were also economic advantages. Using the same respondents as did Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) and Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981), Wilson and Portes (1980) specifically examined the enclave industry in Miami. They noted that the large Cuban-American population in Dade County was reflected in the number of Cuban-owned enterprises, approximately 8,000 in 1976. This was an increase of over 7,000 since 1967. Most of the service firms were restaurants, supermarkets, private clinics, legal firms, funeral parlors, and private schools. Other firms were concentrated in textiles, leather, furniture, cigar making, construction, and finance. While most firms were small scale, Wilson and Portes (1980) found that some employed hundreds of workers. Of the construction firms in the Miami area, 40% were Cuban-owned as were roughly 20% of the local commercial banks.

Wilson and Portes (1980) found that in a follow-up interview to the Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) study, 33% of the sample reported being employed in firms owned by Cuban-Americans. Wilson and Portes (1980) concluded that while the enclave industry often paid low wages, in the long run it also provided new opportunities for economic advancement through economic expansion of the enclave. The subsequent improved economic status for these same respondents, as reported by Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981), supported Wilson and Portes' (1980) claim.

Stevenson (1973) likewise found that Cuban-American businesses provided employment in the ethnic community. In a study of fifty-five Cuban-American businessmen in Miami, Stevenson (1973) discovered that all but 216 of their 1,904 employees were Cuban-Americans. Of the remaining 216, all but twenty-one were employed in banks, in which there was a roughly equal distribution between Cuban-American and Anglo employees.

Because of the affluent status of some Cuban-Americans, the Miami Cuban community provided a mixture of socioeconomic levels, rather than the lower socioeconomic level found in many ethnic communities.) A study by Cooney and Contreras (1978), referred to in Chapter One, found that in Miami, ethnic unity was as important as socioeconomic level in the affluent Cuban-Americans' choice of living area. Cooney and Contreras (1978) investigated living patterns among upper class Cuban-Americans in three major cities. In San Juan the affluent tended to live with other Cuban-Americans of the upper class, while in New York there was a tendency to live with those of the upper class but not of Cuban-origin. In contrast, in Miami the division between those choosing to live with the non-Cuban upper class and those living with Cuban-Americans not of the

upper class was roughly equal. Unlike San Juan and New York, in Miami ethnic ties for many were more important than class ties.

Another aspect of assimilation related to the Cuban-American ethnic community is political involvement. The Center for Advanced International Studies (1969) found little involvement in American politics by the refugees. Many of those Cuban-Americans who had been in the country for an extended period of time had not applied for U.S. citizenship. However, in 1969, the date of that study, the majority of the refugees still planned to return to Cuba.

In Stevenson's (1973) study twenty-one of the fifty-five businessmen were American citizens. Yet, only fourteen of the citizens labeled themselves "American." In all, nineteen of the businessmen considered themselves to be American, and twenty-five to be Cuban, while six claimed both nationalities.

Stevenson (1973) also included fifty hotel employees in his study. Only two of these considered themselves to be American, while forty-six labeled themselves "Cuban" and two, "both American and Cuban."

Unlike the earlier studies, Levitan (1980) found more political involvement. Of the 43.2% of her sample who were citizens, 86.9% were registered to vote.

Recently there has been a surge in Cuban-American political involvement as more and more Cuban-Americans have become citizens and obtained the right to vote. In 1984, the Cuban-American political influence in Miami became significant not only at the local but at the national level as well. Unlike the Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, who overwhelmingly vote Democratic, the Cuban-Americans are predominantly

Republican. In 1984, President Reagan received 90% of the Cuban-American vote.²³

While Miami is the largest Cuban-American ethnic community, New Jersey also has a large Hispanic community, which includes many Cuban-Americans. Rogg (1974) investigated the socioeconomic situation of the Cuban-Americans in the Hispanic community of West New York, New Jersey. Included in her study, which was done in 1968, were pre-1959 arrivals as well as the more recently arrived refugees. Using 250 heads of household, her sample included a higher number of individuals from small towns than did Fagen et al.'s (1968) study but was comparable in educational level. There were more professionals in her group than in the 1968 Miami sample.

Rogg (1974) linked four factors related to acculturation in the ethnic community: occupation, education, government and agency help, and recreation and media. Of the respondents who worked, 59.3% did so mainly with Cuban-Americans, while 35.9% worked with few other Cuban-Americans and only 4.8% had no contact at work with other Cuban-Americans. Rogg (1974) found better occupational adjustment and greater cultural assimilation for those who worked close to Anglos.

Educationally, Rogg (1974) reported considerable isolation from Anglos. While Cuban-origin children constituted only one-third of the total enrollment, the majority of the parents claimed that most or all of their children's classmates were Cuban-Americans. Although the Cuban-origin children were not placed in separate classrooms, they apparently did not interact with Anglo children. This was also reflected in their friendships, which for 84.3% of the children were mainly or exclusively with other Cuban-Americans. However, attitudes toward advanced education

were similar to those previously noted in Miami. Of the parents, 85% wanted their children to complete college.

In examining government help, Rogg (1974) found no problem in the Cuban community's contacts with welfare, health, and police departments. There was little political involvement by her respondents, since none was an American citizen and the majority intended to return to Cuba.

Finally, Rogg (1974) noted isolation from the Anglo community through the self-contained nature of the media. She found that most of the community's needs were met through the Spanish T.V., radio, and newspapers. Over two-thirds of her sample preferred Spanish television to English.

In a follow-up study done in 1979, Rogg and Cooney (1980) looked at the West New York community eleven years later. However, unlike the Portes follow-up studies in Miami, Rogg and Cooney (1980) did not use the same subjects.

Rogg and Cooney (1980) collected data from 300 families by interviewing the male or female head of household. Their follow-up sample differed from the earlier group by reflecting a larger representation of the Second Wave. From 1968 to 1979 there was an increase in the average age of the Cuban-Americans and the number of females, while a smaller number of the sample were from large cities in Cuba. However, there were also a higher number of white collar jobs and a slight increase in the number of high school graduates, reflecting some socioeconomic success in the United States. The majority of the subjects had lived in West New York for ten or more years.

As in Rogg (1974), Rogg and Cooney (1980) examined acculturation in terms of occupation, education, government, and recreation. They found a

decrease in those who worked mainly with Cuban-Americans, from 59.3% to 30.8%.

The number of Hispanics in the school system had increased from one-third to three-fourths of the student body. Yet the percent of parents who perceived their children to have mainly Cuban-origin classmates decreased from 68% to 57%. Likewise, those who claimed their children had mainly Cuban-origin friends declined from 83.4% to 63.1%. Nevertheless, the majority still stated that their children associated almost exclusively with other Cuban-Americans.

In Rogg's (1974) study none of the persons of Cuban-origin was a U.S. citizen, whereas in 1979, 40.3% were citizens. Further, of those who were eligible, 84.3% had registered to vote. These figures are similar to Levitan's (1980) data for Miami.

Housing patterns had also changed. Almost all the respondents were renting in 1968 but by 1979, 19% owned their own homes. This was, however, considerably lower than the 40% home ownership reported by Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981) for their subjects in Miami.

Finally, those who watched Spanish-language television had declined from 66.8% to 25.8%.

In contrast to Portes' (1969) study, Rogg and Cooney (1980) found that the more highly educated refugees experienced more assimilation. This may be due to the fact that Portes' (1969) study investigated the refugees' situation shortly after their arrival, whereas Rogg and Cooney's (1980) subjects had spent an extended period of time in the United States.

In spite of the changes in occupation, education, government, and media which favored acculturation, Rogg and Cooney (1980) found that,

overall, Cuban behaviors and preferences still dominated. Thus, in both Miami and West New York, the ethnic community appeared to slow acculturation, while permitting greater adaptation for the Cuban-Americans.

2.4.3 Attitudes

Another factor in acculturation is the attitude toward each other on the part of the immigrant and host culture. Several early studies noted the strain that the large influx of Cuban refugees placed on the Miami-Dade County community. However, the Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean Center for Advanced International Studies (1967) investigated the economic and sociological impact of the Cuban refugees in Miami and found that, although there were some initial difficulties, overall the effect on the Miami community was positive.

The Center for Advanced International Studies (1969) noted that, in spite of the strain placed on the community, relations between both the Anglo and Black communities and the Cuban community were generally good. However, this study also pointed out that even those Cuban-Americans who had been living in the United States for seven or more years had very limited social contacts with either Anglos or Blacks.

The respondents in Portes, Clark, and Lopez' (1981) study indicated an increased satisfaction with life in the United States and a slight decline in the belief that the American way of life weakened the family. However, from 1973 to 1976 there was also a dramatic increase in those who believed that Cuban-Americans were discriminated against. Further, there was no appreciable decline in this belief between 1976 and 1979. There was also an increase in those who believed that Anglo-Americans considered themselves superior to Cuban-Americans. By 1979, the majority

of the Cuban-Americans in the Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981) sample held this belief.

In Miami the relationship between the Anglo and Cuban-American community has continued to be strained to some extent. A major factor in this less favorable attitude towards Cuban-Americans was the 1980 boatlift. Fradd (1983), who authored one of the very few studies devoted exclusively to the Third Wave, investigated the adjustment problems this group experienced in the United States in conjunction with the English language acquisition of the second generation. Unlike previous Cuban refugees, the Third Wave had spent twenty years under a very different political system. The 1980 boat people were also more representative of the island as a whole and therefore not primarily middle class as were earlier groups. Fradd (1983) found that the Third Wave was not well-received by either the Cuban-Americans or the Anglo community.

As with the earlier waves, the Third Wave placed a considerable financial burden on the Dade County community. Further, there was a growing resentment toward an increasing need to be bilingual in the Miami business community.²⁴ These factors brought a change in attitude by some members of the Anglo community, which was reflected in the Dade County language policy. Whereas in April of 1973, Dade County had declared itself a bilingual and bicultural county with Spanish as a second official language, in November of 1980, following the boatlift, the voters of Dade County repealed the bilingual resolution. Since that time, debate has continued in both the government and private sector over bilingualism in the school and community.

2.4.4 Intended Length of Residence

The last social factor in Schumann's (1978) acculturation model was intended length of residence. Unlike previous Hispanic immigration, Fagen et al. (1968) found that the motivation for Cuban exile was political not economic and that the exile was self-imposed. Therefore, Cubans were not attracted to the United States by the favorable economic situation but rather driven to it and from the island by the unfavorable political situation in Cuba.

Rogg (1974) found that only 8% of her sample, mainly those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, had left Cuba for economic reasons. Of the remaining respondents, 87% cited political reasons and 5%, reunification with family members as the motivation for coming to the United States. Many of those who left for economic reasons were from the 10% of her sample who had arrived prior to the revolution.

Because the motivation was primarily political, at first most of the Cubans hoped to return to Cuba once Castro was removed from power. They thus regarded their stay in the United States as temporary and many made no initial effort to assimilate.

However, as time went on, the possibility of returning to Cuba became more remote. Prohias and Casal (1973) noted that after the Bay of Pigs Invasion and even more so after the Cuban Missile Crisis, there was less hope for a return to Cuba in the near future. Nevertheless, the majority of the refugees still expressed the intention of returning to Cuba, the older and newer arrivals indicating a greater desire to do so. Likewise, at the the time of Rogg's (1974) study the majority of her sample still desired to return to the island.

In the Portes' studies there was a continual decrease in the number who would return to Cuba if the Castro regime fell. Those who intended to return to Cuba declined from 60.6% in 1973, to 50.5% in 1976, and 22.6% in 1979.

Therefore, while at first there was little pressure on the Cuban-Americans to acculturate and acquire English, as time went on, the necessity became greater. Further, the socioeconomic level was conducive to acculturation; in many ways the Cuban-Americans resembled the Anglo middle class. However, the ethnic community promoted enclosure and reinforced the Cuban lifestyle and values, which slowed down acculturation.

2.5 The English of the First Generation

Throughout the sociological studies on Cuban-Americans cited previously, there is one recurrent fact, either explicitly or, more frequently, implicitly stated: English has presented a major difficulty for the Cuban-American first generation.

Even in the ethnic community, English proved to be a factor in socioeconomic achievement. Rogg (1974) found a strong relationship between socioeconomic position and ability to speak English. Likewise, Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981) noted a significant relationship between knowledge of English, occupational level, and earnings. However, education and English language ability were also found to show a positive relationship, so it may be the former factor that has promoted a higher socioeconomic level.

In Stevenson's (1973) study, even with the tendency for enclave industry to be less demanding on English ability, 26% of the businessmen found English to be the central problem of living in the United States.

Of course, these men would have to have more contacts with the Anglo community than would their employees.

The inability to speak English also created other difficulties. Levitan (1980) reported that 82.4% of her respondents found lack of English to be a serious obstacle in obtaining government services. When asked what would be most useful for Cubans arriving in the future, Rogg's (1974) subjects considered knowledge of English to be the most important aid.

English instruction was thus a major concern of the programs designed to help Cuban refugees. Prohias and Casal (1973:92) recommended that programs for professional rehabilitation include English language training, asserting that "if professionals have found license and certification restrictions at least as damaging as lack of English proficiency, for the white collar and other workers English language training seems to be the topmost priority." They also pointed out that among the general assistance welfare cases at the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center, 73% of the recipients spoke no English, while 18% had very poor proficiency. Prohias and Casal (1973:92) claimed that

the language barrier which prevented professional and skilled manpower from raising occupationally to their former levels of employment and income, seems to be a factor in making public assistance cases of a significant number of Cubans with no specific disability or problem.

However, English language instruction had been available to the Cuban refugees in Miami. The Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean Center for Advanced International Studies (1967) found that by the summer of 1966 there had been over 134,000 course registrations for over eight million student hours of English language instruction in Miami. English was also offered in the community, particularly through various religious groups.

It is at first puzzling that with extensive English language instruction, there was still a preponderance of low English proficiency. Prohias and Casal (1973:153) claimed that

the English Language Training offered under CRP auspices have [sic] come under strong attack in our interviews with Task Force and other community members. They have been described as "wasting time," "not really effective," as well as even more florid descriptions such as "Mickey Mouse courses." The need for intensive, truly effective English Language Training courses is of top priority [original emphasis].

A follow-up study to that by Prohias and Casal (1973), edited by Hernandez (1974), reiterated the language problems in Miami. This study recommended "more English training programs, particularly for the adult population" (Hernandez 1974:xv). Likewise, in recommendations for the elderly it suggested that the community "increase the number of English language programs, especially for the younger Spanish elderly, perhaps using public television in conjunction with weekly night classes at neighborhood schools" (Hernandez 1974:xvii). Because of the lack of English proficiency among the elderly population, Hernandez (1974) also recommended more bilingual personnel at all agencies that served the elderly Hispanic population.

Hernandez (1974:17-18) gave other reasons for the adult Hispanic population in Miami not learning English:

(a) the premise that English is not necessary in their work or in their day-to-day relations; and (b) the age effect given the age characteristics of the population, an inverse relationship exists between age and the ability to learn English.

The same language problems with the same recommendations as these earlier studies also emerged in later studies. Diaz (1981:89) urged that for the Miami and Union City Cuban communities "it is necessary to develop intensive English language training as well as high quality

recertification programs for professionals educated in Cuba." Diaz (1981) also recommended more bilingual personnel in public service positions.

Of Rogg and Cooney's (1981) seven recommendations for the community of West New York, three dealt with language. The first recommendation was that "given the relationship between proficiency in the English language and occupational success, adequate classroom facilities for the study of the English language should be provided for the adult Cuban community of West New York" (Rogg and Cooney 1981:74). Their next recommendation dealt with the need to ensure better utilization of the skills of Cuban-Americans in West New York by offering Spanish in combination with English language instruction for adult vocational training programs. They likewise recommended that research be directed toward coordinating English language courses and vocational programs with the Hispanic community.

That the Cuban-Americans in the ethnic community were not fluent in English was supported by several studies. Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977) stated that on arrival, 61.7% of their respondents reported no knowledge of English, 24.2% claimed some knowledge, while 14.1% stated that they spoke English well. These claims were roughly supported by a test administered to the subjects. Ten brief items were presented for translation. For each item roughly 60% to 70% of the subjects were unable to render any translation.

In the follow-up study, Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981:6) found that "according to respondents' self-reports, there has been a marked improvement in knowledge of English." At first this appears to be the case, since 38% of the subjects claimed fluency in English; 41%, some

knowledge; and only 21% rated themselves as having no knowledge of English.

However, Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981:6) went on to point out that "these self evaluations can obviously not be confused with actual proficiency." Using the same test as the 1977 study, the 1981 study found that 44% of the subjects were classified as having no English; 31.5%, some knowledge; and only 24%, as being fluent or near fluent. Portes Clark, and Lopez (1981) also pointed out that their evaluation was made using a very lenient grading scale by which two out of ten correct answers constituted some knowledge of English and six out of ten correct answers, fluency. While clearly some progress was made in English acquisition over the six years between the two studies, there were still many refugees who were not fluent in English.

In Rogg's (1974) New Jersey sample, 44% rated their English as poor; 44%, as average; and only 12% claimed excellent English. What is even more disconcerting is that when the interviewers rated these respondents, only 9% were judged excellent in English; 17%, average; while 74% were rated poor.

Surprisingly, in the follow-up study, Rogg and Cooney (1981) found that 60% of their subjects rated their English below average. This is a higher percentage than the self-rating in Rogg's (1974) sample. However, the respondents were not the same in both studies. Further, it is possible that the judgments in the later study reflected a more realistic appraisal. Unfortunately, the interviewers in the second study did not evaluate English fluency.

Rogg and Cooney (1981) also discovered that English language ability was positively related to occupational status, educational level,

and job satisfaction. Not surprisingly, there was a negative relationship between age of arrival and English ability.

Rogg and Cooney (1981) found that for those living in the ethnic community, interaction with family, friends, and neighbors; participation in religious and ethnic organizations; and identification with the community did not hinder facility in English. However, this is not to say that living in the ethnic community itself did not slow down English acquisition. As pointed out previously, Rogg (1974) noted that the ethnic community did hinder acculturation in the short run.

Other studies done in Cuban communities also pointed out difficulties with English. In self-evaluations of their reading, speaking, understanding, and writing abilities in English, less than one-third of Levitan's (1980) respondents considered themselves good in any aspect of English, while more than one-third rated their ability as poor or nonfunctional in these skills.

Diaz (1981) noted that in Miami, 91.1% of the respondents used only Spanish in the home, while in Union City 85.2% did so. However, at work these figures decreased significantly to 33.6% in Miami and 38.9% in Union City. Yet only 17.0% in Miami and 23.3% in Union City used mostly or only English at work. Surprisingly, in the smaller Cuban community of Union City, Spanish was used more often than in Miami for radio, television, and newspapers.

Although there is no documentation for the English ability of the resettled refugees, they apparently acquired English more easily than did those who remained in the ethnic community. Prohias and Casal (1973:7) claimed that

maximum integration has been found among Indianapolis and Milwaukee Cubans where the size of the Cuban community is small and where the members are mostly former professionals and white collar workers. . . . Much less integration has been found in areas like Miami and West New York.

As was noted previously, the higher educational level of the Cuban-Americans outside the ethnic community aided in acculturation, including the acquisition of English. A relationship between educational level and English was found in several studies. Further, there was a greater necessity to acquire English outside the ethnic community.

Although lacking documentation, the studies on the resettled refugees claimed that their subjects experienced little difficulty acquiring English. Prohias (1967) stated that language was not a limitation for his respondents in Indianapolis. He claimed that the vast majority had acquired enough English to speak adequately. As mentioned earlier, almost 50% of Prohias' respondents had four or more years of college education.

In Gibboney's (1967) Washington, D.C. area sample, 70% of the males had university or professional training. Although knowledge of English was not evaluated, 12.6% of these respondents used English with their children half or more of the time and 33.3% did so with their friends. It appears then that as in Indianapolis, those in Washington, D.C., were a highly educated group and therefore had less difficulty with English.

However, unlike the previous studies cited, Moncarz' (1970a,b,c, 1972) studies found that English was a major obstacle for many highly skilled professions. Of the veterinarians polled, 72% found language to be the greatest obstacle in professional adaptation, as did 42% of the physicians. The only greater problem for some professions, such as law,

was the professional restrictions imposed by the governing bodies. Even Wenk (1968), who in general found few obstacles to the Cuban refugees' success, noted that Cuban-American professional, business, skilled, and semi-skilled individuals were stifled at times by language.

In general, however, outside the ethnic community the factors of social similarity, assimilation, and congruence appear to have promoted acculturation and the acquisition of English. In contrast, within the ethnic community, enclosure, and cohesiveness and size have slowed the acculturation process. The Cuban-American first generation in the ethnic community has not attained general fluency in English.

2.6 The Second Generation

The language situation for the first generation in the Cuban ethnic community is neither unusual nor unexpected. Haugen (1956:27) noted that

nearly all the languages of the Old World were at some time or other brought to the New by individuals or groups of immigrants. They differed from colonials only in so far as they settled in a country already dominated by speakers of other languages. Where conditions permitted it, immigrant speakers tended to seek out co-linguals and form distinct communities within the new nation. Many social bonds held them together and separated them from other residents of the same country, not the least of which was language as their indispensable tool of communication. The first generation of adult immigrants naturally found it difficult to acquire a new language, and they tended by their association to preserve the old language and hand it on to their descendants.

It is normal for the first generation to maintain its native language and to resist learning the language of the host country.

However, as Chapter One pointed out, Gordon (1964) claimed that the second and succeeding generations acquired English without difficulty, with a delay in the acculturation process only when there was discrimination, manifested by the slow emergence of a middle class. This would not apply to the majority of Cuban-Americans. The first two waves

of Cuban refugees produced a substantial middle class, a reason cited by Portes (1969), among others, for their higher socioeconomic level and better acceptance by Anglo-Americans.

Therefore, the same barriers should not exist for acculturation of the Cuban-American second generation as Gordon (1964) found for other Hispanic groups. Yet, just as the preceding section established that the ethnic community affects second language acquisition for the first generation, so also may it affect this acquisition by the second generation.

There are several claims that the Cuban-American second generation is rapidly acculturating. Stevenson (1973:96) took an optimistic view of second generation acculturation outside the ethnic community, claiming that "the Cuban-American family contains second generation members, frequently born in the United States, who speak English without an accent."

Likewise, the children of less affluent Cuban-Americans within the ethnic community have been characterized as learning English without difficulty. The study by the Center for Advanced International Studies (1969:73) claimed that those from previous lower socioeconomic groups in Cuba made no effort to learn English but that their children

are rapidly forgetting Spanish because they speak English at all times among themselves or with their friends. Indeed, the lower the former socioeconomic status of an exile family, the higher the degree of its children's desire for identification with American society.

However, there were no statistics presented to support this claim and several more recent studies, such as Sole (1979), refute it.

Sole (1979) incorporated information from 268 questionnaires completed by fifteen to eighteen year old Cuban-Americans attending

public or private schools in Miami. Of the respondents, 10% were born in the United States, 48% arrived between the ages of one to three; 27%, between the ages of five and eight; and 22%, between the ages of ten and thirteen.

In Sole's (1979) sample, 26% considered Spanish to be their dominant language, 39% favored English, while 35% judged both languages to be equally strong. In general, the respondents claimed to be weaker in their written skills in Spanish than in their oral ability.

Instead of a sociocultural contrast dictating language use, Sole (1979) found that the selection was governed by the listener's language ability. Almost two-thirds of the grandparents knew no English, whereas only one-third of the parents had no ability in the language. With older relatives, 92% of the respondents used Spanish exclusively. However, only 62% did so with their parents, while an additional 21% almost always used Spanish. With siblings, 25% used Spanish exclusively, 41% used both languages, and 38% preferred English. Among friends, English and Spanish were alternated by 50% of the sample, while 33% used English exclusively.

Sole (1979) related individual English usage to several factors. Those respondents who were born in the United States or arrived in infancy, who were more competent in English, whose parents were from higher occupational and educational levels, and whose mothers worked outside the home spoke English more frequently than did their counterparts.

Sole (1979) concluded by stating that in spite of the socioeconomic strength of the Cuban-origin population and the continuing influence of Hispanics in Miami, bilingualism was not a stable phenomenon in the "younger generation. He predicted that unless Spanish was maintained in

the schools and functionally differentiated it would be replaced by English.

Nevertheless, Levitan (1980) pointed out that in Miami communities with high percentages of Hispanics, the children continued to use Spanish among themselves to a greater extent than shown by Sole (1979). Levitan (1980) found that 33.7% of the children in the Cuban ethnic communities preferred Spanish; 21.3%, English; while 45% used both languages without a preference. Among the communities included in the study, Little Havana had the highest preference for Spanish, with 46% of the second generation preferring it, while 38.1% used both languages equally and only 15.9% preferred English among themselves. Between parent and child, the preferred language in the Little Havana community was Spanish for 79.4%, a combination for 19%, and English for only 1.6% of the sample. Therefore, the second generation in the ethnic community is exposed to English less frequently than those living in primarily Anglo communities.

Another factor which may affect the English of the second generation in the ethnic community is attitude. If members of the second generation drop out of school, the primary source of English contact is removed.

Several studies have noted a conflict in cultural identification. Gil (1968) looked at the assimilation of youths in the Union City-West New York City area. While the adolescents showed more acculturation than did their parents, they also exhibited discomfort, and feelings of marginality.

Rogg (1974:134) suggested that

while the Cuban community was fulfilling many of the special needs of its members, particularly of first-generation members, it may

have been intensifying the difficulties of the second generation-- the classic problem of immigrant adjustment. Second-generation Cubans and young Cubans are caught in marginal positions between two cultures.

Yet Rogg (1974:134) went on to note that "this tension was more evident among West New York Cubans than those in Miami." This was perhaps due to the fact that in Miami there is a much larger and more economically diverse Cuban community, so that the situation for the second generation is less marginal and more conducive to an acceptance of both cultures.

While some areas of the Miami community are more supportive for the second generation, others are not. This issue was addressed by one of the studies included in Hernandez' (1974) work. In that study cultural ambivalence was cited as the major cause of a high dropout rate for Hispanics in Miami. Hernandez (1974) referred to a needs assessment report by Cejas and Toledo, which examined eight schools in Little Havana and Windwood, predominantly Spanish-speaking areas of Miami. It found that 40.7% of the Hispanics dropped out before graduation, as opposed to 27.3% for the entire high school population. The reason suggested for this high dropout rate was that the schools could not relate to the Spanish speaking community.

Other factors besides the ethnic community also contribute to cultural ambivalence. The Hernandez (1974) study itself interviewed dropouts in the three high schools in Miami with the highest Hispanic population: Miami Senior High School, Hialeah High, and Miami Springs. The study found that the dropout group was almost three years older upon their arrival in the U.S. than the attending group. The dropout group

had also had two more years of formal education prior to arrival in the U.S. Hernandez (1974:32) concluded that

one trend that seems to emerge . . . is that those students who had been exposed to a greater degree of Cuban culture both in time and in level of formal education have greater difficulties surviving within the American educational system.

The Hernandez (1974) study also found that it was difficult for the dropout students to express what they liked the most or least about school. However, Hernandez (1974:37-38) reported that

the Miami Senior High School students form a very interesting group. Students and drop-outs expressed greater satisfaction with the treatment they, as Cubans, received in the school. The drop-outs were more aware of their dissatisfactions with the school. None of those attending expressed any complaint with reference to this. It is interesting to notice that the [sic] Cejas and Toledo reported that Miami Senior High had the lower [sic] drop-out rate for Spanish-surnamed students of all the schools surveyed in that study. As Miami Senior High has the highest concentration of Spanish-surnamed students (79.6%) of any senior high school in the County, and also the greatest proportion of Spanish-surnamed faculty (14.5%) it would be possible to speculate that cultural peer support and involvement of faculty with the community is greater in that school and that, as Cejas and Toledo proposed, this might help Spanish-speaking students from dropping out.

Szapocznik et al. (1980) pointed out the need for Cuban-Americans not to be isolated from their own culture. However, like the Hernandez (1974) study, Szapocznik et al. (1980) noted that those with primarily Cuban cultural ties had difficulties in adjustment. Szapocznik et al. (1980) conducted a study of 192 Hispanic youths aged twelve to sixteen living in the Greater Miami area. The results showed that, among the Cuban-Americans, bicultural youths were better adjusted than monocultural youths. If a youth attempted to overacculturate the effect was rejection of parents and culture, resulting in rebellion against all authority figures and discipline problems. Underacculturated youths tended to get along with their parents but isolated themselves from the core society.

They became apathetic and withdrawn, exhibiting a depressed, neurotic pattern.

In addition to these studies on the cultural adjustment of the First and Second Wave second generation, as was mentioned previously, there also exists one study, by Fradd (1983), on the second generation of the 1980 Cuban arrivals. She studied the language ability of recently arrived Cuban seventh and eighth graders in a predominantly English-speaking community in South Florida. Fradd (1983) found a significant relationship between first language (Spanish) fluency and second language (English) acquisition, suggesting the need to reinforce language as part of the cultural identity. She also discovered that some female students avoided oral English contact, whereas males were culturally provided with more opportunities to acquire and use English. In conjunction with this finding, Fradd (1983) observed that greater participation in opportunities to speak English resulted in better oral communication in English.

It appears, then, that if there is acceptance of both cultures, there need not be the conflict exhibited in the Union City-West New York City community. Likewise, the dropout rate in Miami high schools seems to be lower when there is cultural acceptance of the Cuban community. However, if isolation from the Anglo community exists, the result is emotional problems, as found by Szapocznik et al. (1980), and difficulties in English language acquisition, as indicated by Fradd (1983). Yet, no study has established the effect of the ethnic community on the overall acquisition of English by the second generation Cuban-Americans.

2.7 Summary

When many of the refugees first arrived in the United States, there was little perceived need to acculturate and learn English, since most expected to return to Cuba. However, with the passing years, more and more refugees realized that they would be remaining in the United States.

From the evidence presented above, it appears that, among other factors, the acculturation of the Cuban-American population has depended on the community where the refugees resided. Those who were resettled and remained in communities with relatively few Cuban-Americans seem to have acculturated with little difficulty, although there have been insufficient follow-up studies to confirm this. Further, those early studies that examined resettled Cuban refugees dealt mainly with the more advantaged First Wave.

The Cuban-Americans who returned or remained in the ethnic community have not undergone acculturation as rapidly, including the acquisition of English. However, they have had the advantage of an easier adaptation, especially with the help of enclave industries.

From the statistics given by Sole (1979) and Levitan (1980), it appears that living in the Cuban community has resulted in less use of English among both the first and the second generations. Nevertheless, the children use considerably more English than do their parents.

What remains to be established is the effect, if any, that living in the Cuban ethnic community has had on the English language production of the second generation. In order to address this question, the present study examines the English of the second generation in the most predominantly Cuban community in the United States: Little Havana. Chapter Three discusses the language of the Cuban-Americans and the

English of the U.S. Hispanic population in general, while the succeeding chapters analyze the English language production of the Cuban-American subjects in this study.

Notes

- ¹ See Gonzalez (1981), among others.
- ² The historical events cited for the period of time through the 1962 Missile Crisis are from Thomas (1971) unless otherwise noted.
- ³ See Fagen et al. (1968) for a breakdown of the professions in relation to the time of exit.
- ⁴ Fagen et al. (1968), among others, discussed the socioeconomic level of the early refugees.
- ⁵ All statistics for the number of Cubans entering the United States by year are from Clark (1975:74).
- ⁶ The historical events cited after the Missile Crisis are from Clark (1975).
- ⁷ Various terminology has been employed to describe the Cuban influx. Clark (1975) refers to "stages." Llanes (1982), among others, terms the peak periods of immigration as waves. The present study follows this latter usage.
- ⁸ Fagen et al. (1968) and others noted the shift in the sociodemographic composition of the refugee population as time went on.
- ⁹ Clark (1975) is one of the principal sources on escapees.
- ¹⁰ The information about the Third Wave is from Llanes (1982).
- ¹¹ For a brief discussion of the reasons Cubans were attracted to the New York-New Jersey area see Rogg (1974). The United States Bureau of the Census (1954:71,73) reported that 13,295 Cuban-born white persons were living in New York and 7,910 in Florida. The United States Bureau of the Census (1953:84-87) listed 1,104 Black-Cubans and 104 Chinese-Cubans in New York, while Florida had 184 Black-Cubans. Only two Chinese-Cubans were listed for the South in general.
- ¹² The United States Bureau of the Census (1954:71) listed 29,295 Cuban-born white persons living in the United States. The United States Bureau of the Census (1954:84-87) listed 1,975 Black-Cubans, eleven Indian-Cubans, 123 Chinese-Cubans, and five Japanese-Cubans.
- ¹³ This statistic is from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982c:2).
- ¹⁴ This claim was made by the Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department (1981:1).
- ¹⁵ These statistics are from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982c:6).

¹⁶The Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department (1981:1) made this claim.

¹⁷These statistics are from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982a:10,67,145,374,404).

¹⁸These statistics are from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982b:12-13,181,311,411,429-30).

¹⁹Because of a lack of agreement on the boundaries of Little Havana and the fact that this area is not a separate political entity from Miami, it is difficult to establish accurate population figures. In Prohias and Casal (1973:86) the population of Little Havana was given as 45,085. Levitan (1980:51) claimed that 76,368 persons lived in Little Havana in 1974, of which 90% were Latins. However, Levitan (1980:51) then went on to claim that 93.6% of the population in Little Havana was Cuban-American. Further, earlier in the study Levitan (1980:11) listed the population of this area in 1974 as 96,638. An accurate estimate of the present population of Little Havana is equally problematic. George Mattox, Administrative Director of the Little Havana Development Authority, estimated in 1984 that with the 1980 refugees, the population in Little Havana may have included as many as 160,000 persons of Cuban-origin, depending upon the boundaries used to define Little Havana. Using the boundaries defined in Chapter One, Jose Casanova, the City of Miami Planner for Little Havana, gave the 1980 Cuban-American population in Little Havana as 46,416, with an additional 25,032 of the 1980 refugees having settled there between 1980 and 1984.

²⁰See Portes, Clark, and Bach (1977).

²¹From a 1982 lecture delivered by Dr. Juan Clark to the Cuban-American Student Association at the University of Florida.

²²The terms Anglo-American and Anglo will be used interchangeably to mean "non-Hispanic white."

²³See Myre (1985) for a brief discussion of the Cuban-American political situation in Florida.

²⁴See Kelly (1981) for a brief discussion of the relationship between the Cuban-Americans and Anglos in Miami.

CHAPTER THREE
THE LANGUAGE OF U.S. HISPANICS

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter One several sources for the variation found in a second language were discussed. It was noted that for phonological variation, the principal source is usually cited as transfer of the first language system. In contrast, variation in the morphology, syntax, and semantics has also been attributed to L1 and L2 developmental language, including universal tendencies in language.

Whether the source is the first language or processes related to first and second language acquisition, one would expect similarities among the types of variation found in different varieties of Hispanic English. Since all speakers share the same ancestral language, transfer would predict similar variation in the second language. Likewise, if developmental processes are sources, then similar variation should also be found. Finally, if these sources work together, as Zobl (1980a) suggested, then an even greater similarity would be expected in the variation found in different varieties of U.S. Hispanic English.

However, the degree of variation would be expected to differ due to the sociological factors discussed in Chapter Two. Because of the higher socioeconomic level of the Cuban-Americans as compared to the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, less variation would be anticipated in second generation Cuban-American English, including influence from social and

regional dialects. On the other hand, as occurred with the Cuban-American first generation, those of the second generation living in the ethnic community might also be expected to produce greater variation than would otherwise be predicted by the socioeconomic level.

In order to explore the sources of variation in Cuban-American English and the degree of variation in relation to other Hispanic varieties of English, this chapter first discusses Spanish, specifically Cuban Spanish, phonology and the corresponding General American English phonological system.¹ Because the nonphonological variation appears to be less systematically related to Spanish, potential Spanish influence in the morphology, syntax and semantics is discussed only when relevant. This chapter also examines studies done on the English of U.S. Hispanics who have acquired English as children. For comparison, ideally only those studies which address the English of mature speakers should be included; however, because very few such studies have been done, the present work also includes studies done on the English of Hispanic children.

3.2 The Phonology of U.S. Hispanics

When the first language phonological system is transferred to the second language, the latter system is modified so as to more closely resemble that of the ancestral language. These modifications allow segments to conform to phonemic segments, phonemic sequences, or to phonetic distributions found in the first language.

3.2.1 The Spanish Phonological System

There are numerous descriptions of the Spanish sound system, perhaps the best known being that of Navarro Tomas (1967). Harris (1969)

also described Spanish phonology. Stockwell and Bowen (1965) and Dalbor (1969) provided descriptions which compared the Spanish phonological system to that of English. In addition, numerous studies have examined the phonological differences among dialects, particularly in the New World. Canfield (1962) and Resnick (1975) categorized several of these differences. A synthesis of these studies is presented for the description of Latin American Spanish phonology in the present study.

Further, Lopez Morales (1970), Lamb (1968), Vallejo Claros (1970), Guitart (1976), Terrell (1979), and Hammond (1976), among others, described the Cuban Spanish sound system. Hammond (1976) examined the Spanish of those Cuban-Americans living in Miami who came to the U.S. as teenagers. Therefore, this is, perhaps, the description closest to the dialect spoken by Spanish-dominant Cuban-Americans in Miami today.

For Spanish-American speakers of Spanish, the consonant phonemes are those given in Table 3-1.

TABLE 3-1
SPANISH CONSONANT PHONEMES

Manner of Articulation	Point of Articulation					
	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar glottal
Stops						
voiceless	p		t			k
voiced	b		d			g
Fricatives						
voiceless		f		s		x (or h)
voiced					y	
Affricate						
voiceless					ç	
voiced						
Nasals	m			n	ɲ	
Liquids						
lateral				l		
tap				r		
trill				r		

The phonemic inventory of Spanish includes six noncontinuant obstruents, contrasting in voicing and point of articulation: /p,t,k,b,d,g/. Voiceless stops have primarily one allophone, an unaspirated noncontinuant.

Voiced stops, however, have another allophone in addition to the voiced noncontinuant. In most dialects, when following continuant segments, /b,d,g/ spirantize, producing the continuant variants [β,ð,ɣ]. After /l/, /d/ does not spirantize due to the homogeneous contact of /l/. Intervocally, these voiced segments may reduce closure even further and ultimately be deleted. For /b/, [w] may be a variant if there is reduced closure, particularly when contiguous to /u/. Of the noncontinuant obstruents, only /d/ can occur in word-final position, where it spirantizes, often devoicing.

In Cuban Spanish, the intervocalic voiced stops may have a more open variant as noted by Lopez Morales (1970:114-122). Both Lamb (1968:76) and Hammond (1976:167) stated that /d/ frequently deleted intervocally in the Cuban Spanish of their subjects. In word-final position /d/ was deleted 100% of the time in the casual speech of Hammond's (1976:142) subjects.² Guitart (1976:23) claimed that word-internal, syllable-final noncontinuant obstruents often neutralize to a velar segment.

In addition to the six noncontinuant obstruents, there are also three voiceless fricatives in Spanish: the labiodental, the dental or alveolar, and the velar or glottal, /f,s,x-h/. Of these, only /s/ can regularly occur in word-final position.

Although /f/ usually is considered to have only one variant, it occasionally is realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative, [ɸ]. Lopez

Morales (1970:122) claimed that this bilabial variant, or one between bilabial and labiodental, is the most common allophone for /f/ in Cuban Spanish. However, neither Lamb (1968) nor Hammond (1976) noted any bilabial variant for /f/.

The /x/ or /h/ has only one variant. Canfield (1962:72) reported the use of /h/ in place of /x/ in the Caribbean, as well as in Central America, Colombia, and Venezuela. Therefore, /h/ rather than /x/ is found in Cuban Spanish. This segment generally does not occur in syllable-final position.

The sibilant /s/ has several variants. When /s/ precedes a voiced consonant, it may assimilate this voicing, being realized as [z]. In syllable-final position /s/ may be reduced to aspiration, [h], or may be deleted. This weakening of /s/, according to Canfield (1962:83), is found in the Caribbean area, as well as Argentina, Chile, and the northern coast of Peru.

The aspiration and deletion of /s/ has been described in numerous sources on Cuban Spanish, including Hammond (1976) and Terrell (1979). This phenomenon is particularly frequent in Cuban Spanish casual speech. Hammond's (1976:136) study showed over 90% aspiration or deletion for /s/ in syllable-final position.

Spanish additionally has a voiced weakly constricted palatal fricative or glide, /y/, found only in syllable-initial position. Although, according to Canfield (1962:85), a few dialects in South America contrast this phoneme, spelled y, with a palatal lateral or more constricted fricative segment, spelled ll, these two phonemes have merged in most of Spanish America and are represented by /y/. This segment may

have several variants, as noted by Resnick (1970:26), ranging from a weakly occlusive glide to a strongly occlusive affricate.

For Cuban Spanish, Saciuk (1980) described seven variants of /y/. The four most common, accounting for over 95% of the data, were a glide, a weak fricative, a weak palatal affricate, and a prepalatal affricate. The most frequent of these, found in almost half of the total occurrences, was the weak palatal fricative. However, in phrase-initial position the noncontinuant variants accounted for over 60% of the occurrences of /y/. In word-initial position following a consonant, /y/ was realized as a noncontinuant in 25% of the occurrences, while following a vowel a noncontinuant occurred in only 3% of the realizations. In intervocalic position /y/ was noncontinuant only 1.6% of the time.

The remaining obstruent in Spanish is the voiceless palatoalveolar affricate, /tʃ/. Although /tʃ/ often has only one variant, an unaspirated sometimes weakly occlusive affricate, Resnick (1975:23) noted three additional variants, including [ʃ], a voiceless palatoalveolar fricative. Resnick (1975:95-96) reported that this variant occurs among speakers in Chile and the Caribbean, including Miami Cubans. Hammond (1976:144) found a 27.1% occurrence of the [ʃ] variant among his speakers. Lamb (1968:79) attributed this variant primarily to female subjects; however, Hammond (1976) showed no difference in the usage between males and females. The /tʃ/ occurs only in syllable-initial position in Spanish.

There are three nasal phonemes in Spanish: a bilabial, alveolar, and palatal, /m,n,ɲ/. Of these, only the alveolar nasal occurs in word-final position. In most dialects, /n/ assimilates across a syllable

boundary to the point of articulation of the following nonvocalic segment, so that there are numerous allophones of /n/. Del Rosario (1970:81), among others, noted that in the Caribbean region, word-final /n/ is often realized as the velar nasal, [ŋ]. Another possible variant in Cuban Spanish is deletion of the nasal with nasalization remaining on the preceding vowel, [̃]. Hammond (1976:117-18) found that the velar nasal and nasalized vowel occurred more frequently than did the assimilated variants in the Cuban Spanish of his subjects.

There are also three liquid phonemes in Spanish: an alveolar lateral, tap, and trill, /l, r, r̄/. While /l/ and /r/ can occur in syllable-final, including word-final, position, /r̄/ occurs only in syllable-initial position. Like the nasals, the /l/ assimilates to a following consonant in place of articulation, in this case from the dental to the palatal region.

Canfield (1962:72-73) noted that in those areas that aspirate the /s/, neutralization of /l/ and /r/ in syllable-final position also occurred. However, Hammond (1976:150) encountered only a low level of either the neutralized liquid or deletion of /l/ among his subjects. In contrast, the lateral variant occurred in over 95% of the realizations in his data. Guitart (1976:24) claimed that /l/ could also assimilate in point and manner of articulation to a following consonant.

Several variants were likewise reported for Cuban Spanish /r/. Guitart (1976:24) stated that /r/, like /l/, also assimilates in point and manner of articulation to a following consonant. Vallejo Claros (1970:26) described four variants of /r/ in syllable-final position: a tap, a lateral, a fricative liquid, and deletion of the segment. Hammond (1976:157) additionally included aspiration, the neutralized liquid, and

a retroflex flap, as well as a devoiced tap, as possible variants of /r/. These occurred in syllable-final position as well and accounted for over half of the variants for /r/ in his data.

Like the other liquids, the trilled / $\bar{r}$ / also has several variants in Cuban Spanish. Vallejo Claros included the fricative liquid as a variant of / $\bar{r}$ /. Hammond (1976:152) found several additional variants of / $\bar{r}$ /, including aspirated or devoiced variants.

The possible combinations of the consonants in Table 3-1 are limited. In syllable-initial position the noncontinuant obstruents and /f/ can be followed by a liquid. However, /s/ cannot occur in an initial consonant cluster, so that any word-initial /s/-cluster must be preceded by an epenthetic vowel, thus producing a syllable boundary between /s/ and the following consonant. In syllable-final position within a word the clusters /ks/, /ns/, /rs/, and /bs/ are possible but these regularly reduce or are deleted completely in Cuban Spanish. No clusters occur in word-final position.

In addition to the consonant phonemes, Spanish also has five vowels, /i,e,a,o,u/, representing high and mid front unrounded, low central unrounded, and mid and high back rounded, as shown in Table 3-2.

TABLE 3-2
SPANISH VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Navarro Tomas (1957:46-64) listed several variants for each vowel phoneme. He claimed that in open syllables the non-low vowels are lower than in closed syllables. Navarro Tomas (1957:54-57) also stated that /a/ is backed or fronted depending on the surrounding environment.

The high vowels, /i/ and /u/, are realized as the corresponding glides, [i̯] and [u̯], when unstressed and contiguous to another vowel. These glides are relatively high and tense.

In Cuban Spanish the glide [i̯] in syllable-initial position functions similarly to the phoneme /y/, becoming more spirantized and even noncontinuant. The [u̯] likewise has obstruent variants, [ɣ_w] or [ʁ_w]. However, Lamb (1968:87) found only a few sporadic examples of the velar obstruent variants in his data.

Guitart (1976:21) claimed that vowels in Cuban Spanish are generally more open in all environments than the vowels described for other dialects of Spanish. According to Lamb (1968:98), an additional variant for vowels in Cuban Spanish is a weakened or devoiced variant found in word-final, unstressed position. Hammond (1976:146) reported word-final vowel devoicing in almost 20% of the occurrences following /ɛ̃/.

Finally, in Spanish, stress is relatively predictable. The stressed syllable is usually the final syllable if it ends in a consonant other than /n/ or /s/, while otherwise the stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

Although Miami Cuban Spanish phonology varies from that described for other dialects, Hammond (1976) reported little potential English influence in the speech of his subjects. This is perhaps because they had spent the majority of their youth in Cuba. He examined the phonology

of men and women, most of whom were college-educated and in their twenties, having arrived in the U.S. in their teens. The data were collected from free conversation in a natural setting.

While little if any English influence was present, Hammond (1976) did find a greater percentage of variation than that reported elsewhere for educated speakers of Cuban Spanish. In fact, his data are similar to those reported for less-educated speakers of Caribbean Spanish.³ However, as has been noted, Hammond (1976:10) analyzed a casual style of speech which he defined as "normal, fast, casual, unguarded colloquial speech, typical of any social situation." Because of this fact, the degree of variation likely reflects that pattern described by Labov et al. (1968) which showed variation to increase from most to least formal speech style and from highest to lowest socioeconomic group. Therefore, the casual speech of a higher socioeconomic group resembles the slower speech of a lower socioeconomic level.

Another study on Miami-Cuban Spanish, by Bjarkman (1976), likewise found that, for the most part, English loanwords were adjusted to conform to the phonological rules of Spanish. Other than proper names, Bjarkman (1976:412) listed only three words that maintained English segments and sequences not found in Spanish.

In contrast, Varela de Cuellar (1974) suggested that English-dominant speakers may exhibit noticeable English influence in their Spanish phonology. She claimed that those Cuban-Americans who used Spanish primarily in only the family environment showed evidence of English phonological influence. Although she did not identify her subjects, nor give quantitative documentation, Varela de Cuellar (1974) cited examples of English-influenced phonology in Miami-Cuban Spanish.

She found that, in particular, vowels reduced to the English schwa in unaccented syllables. Likewise, accented vowels lengthened in word-final position. She also noted the use of /ʌ/ in Spanish cognates when the English equivalent used this vowel. Unlike monolingual speakers of Spanish, the English-dominant speakers of Spanish frequently distinguished between /v/ and /b/ and, as in English, flapped /t/ and /d/ intervocalically. Further, the English retroflex /ɻ/ was substituted for the tap and trill of Spanish. Varela de Cuellar (1974) also noted that the stress shifted at times to that found in English cognates.

While the influence of English in the phonology of Cuban Spanish is apparently limited to those speakers whose dominant language is English, the reverse is not true. It is possible to find Spanish influence in the English of these same speakers, as well as in Spanish-dominant speakers of English.

3.2.2 The English Phonological System

There are several works on English pronunciation, including Prator (1957), Thomas (1958), Gleason (1961), Chomsky and Halle (1968), and Ladefoged (1975). In addition, Stockwell and Bowen (1965) described the English phonological system when contrasting it to Spanish. A synthesis of the descriptions contained in these works is presented here. The consonants of English are given in Table 3-3.

TABLE 3-3
ENGLISH CONSONANT PHONEMES

Manner of Articulation	Point of Articulation						velar	glottal
	bi- labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	alve- olar	pal- atal			
Stops								
voiceless	p			t			k	
voiced	b			d			g	
Fricatives								
voiceless		f	θ	s	ʃ			h
voiced		v	ð	z	ʒ			
Affricate								
voiceless					ç			
voiced					ʝ			
Nasals	m			n			ŋ	
Liquids								
lateral				l				
retroflex				ɭ				
Glides						y	w	

Like Spanish, English has six oral noncontinuant segments. However, the English voiceless stops are aspirated in syllable-initial position of a stressed syllable. Further, intervocally, the alveolar stops of English are frequently realized as an alveolar flap. All the English noncontinuant obstruents can occur in word-final position, either alone or in clusters.

English has both voiceless and voiced spirants for four of the five points of articulation: the labiodental, /f/ and /v/; interdental, /θ/ and /ð/; alveolar, /s/ and /z/; and palatoalveolar, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. For the fifth point of articulation, only the voiceless glottal /h/ occurs. Except for /h/, all the English spirants can occur in word-final position, as well as initial position; normally /ʒ/ is not found in word-initial position.

English also has voiceless and voiced palatoalveolar affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. Like the other obstruents, these too can occur in syllable-final position.

As in Spanish, English has three nasal phonemes. However, in place of the Spanish palatal nasal, English has a phonemic velar nasal, /ŋ/, which only occurs in syllable-final position. The English nasals can contrast in syllable-final position, although in casual speech English nasals often assimilate to the point of articulation of a following consonant.

English has only two phonemic liquids: /l/ and /ɹ/. When /l/ occurs in syllable-final position or precedes back vowels, it is frequently realized as a velarized alveolar lateral, or dark l. The /ɹ/ in English is an alveolar retroflex segment. In some English dialects, including Black English and those spoken in parts of the East and South, the /ɹ/ in syllable-final position is reduced to a weak vowel, the schwa, or deleted.

The last two nonvocalic segments in English are the glides, /y/ and /w/. Unlike Spanish, the English glides are not derived from underlying vowels and do not have obstruent variants.

In addition to single consonants, English tolerates many consonant clusters both in syllable-initial, and final position, including word-final position. English has those clusters mentioned for Spanish in syllable-initial position, as well as /ʃl/ and /s/-clusters, which may contain both a voiceless stop and a liquid. In syllable-final position many combinations occur. When the cluster involves two or more obstruents, these obstruents agree in voicing. Although more than two

consonants can occur in a cluster, in syllable-final position one is often omitted in casual speech.

Just as the English consonant system is more complex than the Spanish, so too is the vowel system. There is some disagreement as to the manner of classifying vowels in the English system. Several vowels are realized as complex nuclei with off-glides and are classified in various ways. The nonfront lower vowels are likewise described in different ways. This study will employ the system shown in Table 3-4 for American English vowels.

TABLE 3-4
ENGLISH VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
High	iy I	[ɨ]	uw U
Mid	ey E	[ə] ^	ow o ɑ
Low	ae		

The English vowel system has over twice as many vowels as does the Spanish system. There are two vowels for the high and mid front and back quadrants representing tongue height. For each pair, the higher is tense and diphthongized, while the lower is lax. However, in spite of the apparent symmetry, /ɔ/ functions differently from its counterparts, since it can occur in word-final position, e.g., "law" /lɔ/. Further, in some dialects, /a/ and /ɔ/ are not distinguished. English also has a mid central vowel, /ʌ/. Finally, English has two low vowels, the front /ae/ and the back /ɑ/. Normally, like the other monophthongized vowels, /ʌ/, /ae/, and /ɑ/ do not occur in word-final position.

In addition to the above vowels, which include the diphthongized vowels /iy/, /ey/, /uw/, and /ow/, English also has the diphthongs /oy/, /ay/ and /aw/. The glides in these diphthongized vowels and diphthongs are somewhat laxer and lower than their Spanish counterparts.

In unstressed position, all of the English vowels can reduce to the mid central lax vowel [ə], the schwa. The schwa is higher and shorter than /ʌ/ and, unlike /ʌ/, does not occur in stressed syllables. When an /ɹ/ follows the schwa, a single rhotacized vowel results, [ə^r]. Likewise, when /ʌ/ is followed by /ɹ/, the result is an r-colored vowel, [ɜ^r]. Finally, a higher reduced central vowel, [ɪ], often occurs in place of the schwa, particularly in grammatical suffixes.

Another phonetic variant of the English vowels is length. In English, vowels lengthen before voiced consonants. Since word-final obstruents often devoice, vowel length then indicates whether the final consonant is phonemically voiced or not.

3.2.3 Potential Spanish Phonological Transfer

Because the sound system of Spanish in general, and Cuban Spanish in particular, differs from that of English, there is a potential for Spanish influence in the English system. While Spanish and English share many of the same phonemes, others do not coincide. Further, even when the phonemes are identical, the phonetic variants may differ. Finally, the sequencing of segments is not identical in both languages.

Although both languages have the same phonemic noncontinuant obstruent segments, the Spanish phonetic realizations may influence English production. Since English voiceless stops are aspirated and the Spanish stops are not, Hispanic English speakers may pronounce the English segments without aspiration. Further, Spanish does not have the

alveolar flap as a variant of /t/ and /d/, so that this variant may not be included in the English inventory. Instead, the speakers may spirantize the voiced oral stops as occurs in Spanish. Intervocally, voiced stops may further weaken or completely delete. Likewise, word-final stops may be deleted or, by analogy to Spanish /d/, spirantized and possibly devoiced.

Since the spirants in Spanish are not in pairs distinguished by voicing, this distinction may be lost in English, so that /z/ may neutralize with /s/. In syllable-final position /s/ and /z/ may be aspirated or deleted. On the other hand, the English /v/ may be interpreted as a variant of Spanish /b/ and neutralize with English /b/, spirantizing after continuants.

Because Latin American Spanish does not have the interdental fricatives, these may neutralize with the nearest Spanish counterpart. In the case of /θ/, the Spanish dental [t], alveolar [s], or labiodental [f] may serve as a replacement. The voiced interdental /ð/ closely resembles the spirantized variant of /d/ in Spanish and just as /v/ may neutralize with /b/, so may /ð/ with /d/.

Finally, since Spanish has no /š/ phonemically but does have the phonetic variant in some dialects, the /š/ may neutralize with /ç/ in Hispanic English. The /ž/ may likewise neutralize for voicing ([š]) or continuancy ([j]). In the latter case, /ž/ would become, in turn, a variant of /y/, as [j] is in some dialects of Spanish.

Nasals can also be influenced by the Spanish phonological system. Because Spanish has a phonetic but not phonemic velar nasal in syllable-final position, the alveolar nasal may replace the velar or vice versa. Syllable-final /m/ may likewise be realized as [n] or [ŋ].

The liquids also are subject to Spanish influence. Spanish does not have the velarized-l and therefore the Hispanic English speaker may substitute the Spanish /l/, which is produced with the tongue raised higher toward the palate. The English retroflex /ɭ/ may be replaced by a tap or trill.

Finally, the English glides may be realized with more closure in syllable-initial position. Because some dialects of Spanish have fricative and affricate variants of /y/, the English /y/ may have these variants as well. The English /w/ may likewise be realized as [ɰ^h] or the spirant variant, [ɰ^h]. The function of these glides as part of the vowel nucleus will be discussed later in the comparison of vowels.

Since Spanish has only five vowels and English, eleven, Hispanic English speakers would be expected to neutralize English vowels. For each of the non-low front and back vowels of Spanish there are two vowels in English: /iy/-/I/, /ey/-/E/, /uw/-/U/, /ow/-/ɔ/. While the Spanish vowel is tense and monophthongized, the English vowel is either tense and diphthongized or lax and without the off-glide. These pairs may neutralize to a tense monophthong, with the lower Spanish variant occurring in closed syllables.

Spanish has only one low vowel, /a/. Thus the low vowels of English, /æ/ and /ɑ/, may neutralize to /a/. The /æ/ also very closely resembles /E/, and may neutralize with this vowel and its diphthongized counterpart.

Since Spanish has no non-low central vowels, /ʌ/ may lower and neutralize with /a/, or back and round to /ɔ/ or /o/. There is likewise no central reduced vowel in Spanish, so that English vowels may retain their full value in unstressed syllables. Hispanic speakers may also

substitute the Spanish diphthongs for the English, the glide being higher and shorter than its English counterpart.

Finally, English stress is far less predictable than is Spanish stress, so that the speaker may impose the Spanish system on the English.

Much of the potential Spanish-influenced variation is caused by neutralization of features which contrast phonemically in English. Some variants are the result of voicing neutralization, as in the case of /z/ and /s/. Others are the result of a lack of contrast in length and tenseness, for example, the neutralization of /I/ and /iy/ to /i/. Still others result from neutralization of continuancy, as does the interchanging of /š/ and /č/. For other variants, the place of articulation is neutralized, as with /n/ and /ɳ/.

In addition to segment modification, the other overriding Spanish influence is the simplification of the syllable structure. Unlike English, Spanish has a relatively simple syllable structure, favoring the CV syllable. Therefore, Hispanic speakers may alter the English clusters to conform to this Spanish syllable structure. Since Spanish does not have syllable-initial /s/-clusters, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted to break up this cluster. In word-final position, segments may be deleted to preserve the CV structure. However, because Spanish resyllabifies across word-boundaries, final consonants are more tolerated in prevocalic position than in preconsonantal and phrase-final position.

The variants which result from the influence of Spanish modify the English, so that it may more closely resemble the Spanish phonemic inventory and its phonetic realizations. The modifications may alter the phonemic sequence, the phonemic segment, or the phonetic distribution. For example, the English voiced labiodental fricative, /v/, would be

deleted from the final consonant cluster in twelve /twElv/ because consonant clusters do not occur in word-final position in Spanish. In van /vaen/, /v/ would be replaced by the voiced bilabial stop, /b/, since voiced labial nonsonorant segments are bilabial oral stops in this position in Spanish. Finally, /v/ would be realized as a voiced bilabial spirant, [β], in revolt /ˌiɪvowlt/ because in Spanish voiced obstruents spirantize following a continuant segment. Whether or not these changes represent phonemic restructuring or only phonetic variation depends on the individual speaker or variety of English in question.

3.2.4 Studies on U.S. Hispanic English Phonology

While all of the possible types of transfer mentioned in section 3.2.3 have been cited in the literature on Hispanic English, no one variety displays all such influence. As Metcalf (1979:16) noted:

Even the pronunciation of Spanish-dominant Chicano speakers of English is never reported as entirely Spanish, except in intonation. There is no report, for example, of a Chicano English dialect with only five distinct vowels, as in Spanish, although there are sometimes not the full ten or eleven distinct vowels of Anglo dialects.

Although all the possible influences can be found in descriptions of Hispanic English, they do not occur with the same frequency for all speakers. Further, the same variants do not necessarily occur in all Hispanic varieties of English.

There are several factors that are related to linguistic variation, both among the different varieties of U.S. Hispanic English and within each variety. These must be considered in a discussion of different varieties of Hispanic English.

As Chapter One and Two pointed out, various sociodemographic factors, including socioeconomic level and speaker's age, can be related

to linguistic variation. The age at which the second language is acquired is likewise a potential factor. Further, the surrounding social or regional dialect may affect variation, as may the first language dialect.

The speech style measured also is a factor in the variation that occurs. Ma and Herasimchuk (1971), in their work on Puerto Rican Spanish and English, reported different types and degrees of variation for various reading and conversation styles.

The data-gathering method may also influence the results. Reading carries with it the additional factor of spelling pronunciations, which in natural speech might not otherwise occur. Another method of gathering data, used in several of the studies on Hispanic English, requires repetition of items. This method incorporates the possibility of mistakes made from misunderstanding the items themselves. This is especially prevalent in minimal pair contrasts, in which the desired item may be more obscure or even unknown as opposed to the item contrasted.

Finally, not all studies measure the same phonemes in the same environments. Linguistic environment has frequently been shown to significantly affect variation. Labov et al. (1968) and Wolfram (1969) found that linguistic variables had a hierarchical influence on variation.

Although these various sociological, linguistic, and measurement factors do affect the results of individual studies, nevertheless, some variants are more prevalent in Hispanic English literature.

Of the studies that have investigated the English phonology of U.S. Hispanics, the majority have been concerned with the language production

of Chicano children. Further, most are descriptive, noting variation without giving quantitative information, such as frequency of variation.

One of the earlier studies, by Jameson (1967), examined the phonology of 157 preliterate Texan children, including Chicano children in several types of curriculum and an Anglo control group. Since the children repeated the minimal pair sentences they heard, they were evaluated on perception as well as production of sounds.

Another work on Chicano children was done by Natalacio and Williams (1972). Using a repetition test, the authors studied ten Chicano children from Texas in grades K-2, as well as ten Black children in the same grades.

Gingras (1972) reported on sixty first through third grade Chicano children in California. The children read passages and then participated in interviews. Gingras (1972) categorized the subjects in four groups according to their divergence from the surrounding Anglo dialect.

Another study, by Benitez (1970), examined several phonological segments produced by nineteen Chicano seventh grade students in Texas. These students read a series of sentences.

Lastra de Suarez (1975) included forty-two subjects from East Los Angeles in her study. Ranging from grades one to four, these subjects were interviewed alone and collectively.

Fewer studies exist on the English of teenage and adult Chicanos. One by Sawyer (1975) reported on her study done in the 1950's. Oral interviews were conducted with seven Anglos and seven Chicanos, four of whom were classified as bilingual, the other three speaking primarily Spanish. Since the Anglo subjects spoke a Southwestern regional dialect

of English, at times their speech, too, varied from that described in section 3.2.2 of this chapter.

Hartford (1975) likewise examined more mature Chicano English, that of thirty students in grades nine through eleven. However, unlike the previous studies, Hartford's (1975) subjects did not reside in the Southwest, living instead in Gary, Indiana. While these subjects did not exhibit much of the variation cited elsewhere for Chicano speakers of English, there was variation which could be attributed to Black English influence.

In contrast to the studies on Chicano English, those on Puerto Rican English have dealt primarily with teenage and adult language. One of the best known studies on Puerto Ricans in the continental United States is by Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971). Begun in 1967, this study presented a detailed investigation of the sociological characteristics of a neighborhood in Jersey City, New Jersey. In addition to the vast amount of sociological data, the Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971) work also included the Ma and Herasimchuk study which included forty-five subjects over the age of thirteen. The study analyzed several Spanish and English phonemes in five styles: list reading, text reading, list recitation, careful speech, and casual speech.

Another well-known study on Puerto Rican English is by Wolfram (1973). He investigated several phenomena in the English of twenty-nine Puerto Rican teenage males living in East Harlem, New York. Like Hartford (1975), Wolfram (1973) was interested in the influence of Black English, as well as Spanish, on the English of his subjects.

One Puerto Rican study done on children is by Williams (1972). However, since the methodology was not included in the study, not much is

known of the subjects. Five children are cited and reference is made to the first-grade level. The author also stated that the data were obtained from spontaneous speech.

There exists only one published study, by Duncan (1983), which described variation in the English of Cuban-Americans. Duncan (1983) included eight ethnic groups of first, third, and fifth graders in her study: Anglo-American, Chinese-American, Franco-American, Native American, Urban Mexican, Rural Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban-American. The four Hispanic communities involved were in California, Texas, Florida, and New York. Presumably, the Cuban-Americans were tested in the Florida location, although no further sociodemographic information was given except that all children were from lower to lower-middle class neighborhoods.⁴ The children were measured by the Phoneme Production subscale of the Language Assessment Scales. Children repeated words and phrases contrasting minimal pairs.

Many of the above studies described the same phonological variation. One Spanish influence frequently discussed was the neutralization of /č/ and /š/. Jameson (1967), Benitez (1970), Natalacio and Williams (1971), and Lastra de Suarez (1975), among others, all noted the substitution of /š/ for /č/ or vice versa.

The majority of the Puerto Rican studies contrasted Puerto Rican English with Black English. Since /č/-/š/ neutralization is not related to contact with Black English, few works mentioned this variation.

In other studies, /č/-/š/ alternation was simply absent. Hartford (1975:104) noted of her subjects that

curiously, a number of features which are often regarded as among the most troublesome for Spanish-English bilinguals did not appear often enough to be interesting for these subjects. Only one subject showed any extensive confusion of /ɛ/ and /ɛ̃/.

Two other segments which were frequently cited as showing variation are /ɔ̃/ and /θ/. Since these segments also vary in Black English, they were included in those studies comparing Black and Hispanic English, as well. In her study on Chicano English, Hartford (1975) classified both /ɔ̃/ and /θ/ variation as being of ambiguous origin, since the influence could be from Black English or Spanish. Wolfram (1973) likewise analyzed /θ/ as part of his study comparing Black and Puerto Rican English.

For /ɔ̃/ the most common nonstandard variant was the noncontinuant counterpart, [ɔ̃]. However, /θ/ had several variants, including [t], [t̥], [s], and [f]. Wolfram (1973) found the first two variants most frequently in word-initial position but the continuant variants in word-final position. Wolfram (1973) did not, however, consider the affricate variant to be nonstandard.

Of the continuant variants for /θ/, the labiodental segment [f] was reported most frequently for those dialects with Black English influence, while [s] was the most common continuant variant in those dialects without Black English contact.

Numerous studies also reported the devoicing of /z/, resulting in [s]. Word-final devoicing was also prevalent for all voiced obstruents. The devoicing of word-final consonants in Hispanic English may be the result of Spanish influence on the consonant. The only voiced obstruent found in word-final position, /d/, frequently devoices if it is not deleted.

However, there are other explanations for this devoicing. In those studies that described word-final devoicing of obstruents, neutralization of vowel length was also reported. Ladefoged (1975:77-78) claimed that in English, word-final voiced consonants and those before voiceless consonants partially devoice. At the same time vowels are shorter before voiceless consonants in the same syllable than before voiced consonants. Therefore, the contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants in syllable-final position is more one of vowel length than voicing. It is possible that neutralization in vowel length, not in consonant voicing, is the significant aspect of the Hispanic English variation.

Another variant noted in several studies is vocalization of /l/ in syllable-final position. Gingras (1972), Williams (1972), and Hartford (1975) all discussed this phenomenon. While Hartford (1975) considered this to be an influence from Black English, there was no indication of Black English influence in Gingras' (1972) study. He suggested that the surrounding Southwestern dialect may show this vocalization.

It is doubtful that /l/ vocalization is the result of Spanish influence, since /l/ rarely weakens or deletes in Spanish. What would be influence of Spanish is the pronunciation of syllable-final /l/ with the tongue raised. However, this segment is rarely mentioned in discussions of Hispanic English.

Neutralization of word-final nasals is also cited in several works, including those by Jameson (1967), Ma and Herasimchuk (1971), and Gingras (1972). In addition, nasals weakened or deleted, leaving only nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Gingras (1972) and Lastra de Suarez (1975), among others, noted another neutralization, /v/ and /b/, with spirantization occurring after

continuant segments. However, this type was cited less frequently than the variation mentioned previously. Likewise, although Benitez (1970) and Williams (1972) noted that /j/ and /y/ neutralized to some degree, this occurred with less frequency than did /ẽ/ and /ẽ/ neutralization.

In addition to substitution of segments, numerous studies also cited the deletion of consonants, particularly for word-final clusters. While deletion of segments was reported as quite high in word-final position, it must be noted that some deletion is also likely in the casual English of most monolingual speakers.

Williams (1972) additionally reported that final segments in his study reduced to [ʔ] or [h]. He considered these to be "increasingly successful steps in the acquisition of English final consonants" (Williams 1972:9). However, the use of these variants is common in Caribbean Spanish, particularly in loanwords. The glottal stop likewise is found in the speech of monolingual speakers as a replacement for alveolar oral stops. Wolfram (1973) included the glottal stop as a standard variant for /t/. For Gingras (1972) the glottal stop represented the Anglo variant for voiceless stops in some environments. It occurred only among those of his subjects with less Spanish influence.

The most common variation reported for vowels was /iy/-/I/ neutralization. Almost all studies included this neutralization in their inventory of Hispanic English variation. However, Hartford (1975) found virtually no evidence of /iy/-/I/ neutralization among her subjects.

Variation for the remaining vowels was also noted, though to a lesser degree. Although not as frequent as /iy/-/I/ neutralization, /ey/-/E/ and /uw/-/U/ also were reported to neutralize. In contrast,

/ow/_/ɔ/ neutralization was not described. Instead, //ʌ/ was frequently described as backing to /ɔ/. Both Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) and Hartford (1975) showed a higher neutralization of //ʌ/ with /ɔ/ than with /ɑ/. On the other hand, in Gingras' (1972) study //ʌ/ neutralized with /ɑ/.

Likewise, several studies, including Natalacio and Williams (1971), noted that /æ/, and /ɔ/ also neutralized with /ɑ/. However, since /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ are not distinguished in several dialects of English, particularly in the Midwest, it is not necessarily the result of Spanish influence.

Another influence from Spanish that was noted in several studies, including Ma and Herasimchuk (1971), Hartford (1975), and Gingras (1972), was the use of a higher, shorter off-glide in diphthongs.

Only for speakers showing extreme variation, such as in Gingras' (1972) third and fourth group and some of Williams' (1972) subjects, did the remaining variation occur. For example, the Spanish tapped or trilled /r/ was almost never noted in the literature on Hispanic English. Likewise, the velar fricative rarely was a substitute for /g/. Even lack of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables, a common problem for those who learn English as a second language, was infrequently noted. The only variation for stress that was reported was a shift of stress in compound nouns.

In addition to those changes attributed to Spanish influence, there were also those, as shown in Sawyer (1975), Hartford (1975), and Wolfram (1973), among others, which are caused by the influence of surrounding social or regional dialects. As has previously been noted, the variation of /ä/ and /θ/ has been attributed to Black English as well as to

Spanish. Word-final consonant deletion has likewise been attributed to both influences. Vocalization of /l/ appears to have a source other than Spanish as well.

There was relatively little occurrence of hypercorrected or overgeneralized forms in the English of the Hispanic speakers. Williams (1972) did point out a few instances in the speech of his subjects, for example, /ɑ/--> [ʌ], as in father [fʌðə^x]. Likewise, both Sawyer (1975) and Williams (1972) noted some overgeneralization, with aspiration of /p,t,k/ occurring in all environments rather than just in initial position of stressed syllables. However, these were the only occurrences of variants that could not be attributed to Spanish transfer.

The studies discussed above each examined the phonology of only one variety of U.S. Hispanic English. In contrast, Duncan (1983) compared several, including Urban and Rural Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban-American. Duncan (1983) tested the pronunciation of several segments and clusters in word and sentence repetition by first, third, and fifth grade students. She also tested the word-initial clusters /st/ and /sn,sp/ for the Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans. In comparison to the other Hispanic groups, the Cuban-Americans had considerably less variation, as shown by the fewer segments marked in Table 3-5.

TABLE VIII
PHONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTY FOR
FOUR ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS AT THREE GRADE LEVELS

		Phoneme Variation (word/sentence)																				sn	
		p	b	d	g	č	v	θ	ə	z	h	æ	/	E	I	iy	y	hw	st	sp			
		ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	ws	w	s			
Group																							
Urban Mex-Am.																							
	grade 1		x	x		x		x	xx	x			x	x	x	x		x	xx	-	-		
	3								xx	x							x		x	x	-	-	
	5				x	x	xx	x	xx		x			x				x			-	-	
Rural Mex-Am.																							
	grade 1	xx			x	xx	x	xx	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x		-	-		
	3									x							x		x		-	-	
	5				x	x	xx	xx	xx	xx			x					x			-	-	
Puerto Rican																							
	grade 1	xx	x	xx	x	x	xx	xx	x	xx	x	xx	x	xx	x	xx		xx	x	x			
	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	xx	x	x		xx			x	x	x	x	x		x		
	5	x		x			x	x	x	x		xx		xx	x		x	x	x		x		
Cuban-American																							
	grade 1		x			x	x	x	xx							x							
	3					x	x		xx														
	5							x	xx														

Duncan, Sandra. 1983. Cheap Ship Trips, p.23. Reproduced by permission of De Avila, Duncan and Associates, Inc., San Rafael, Ca.

Of the groups in Duncan (1983), the Puerto Rican children showed the greatest variation. However, while the amount of variation decreased for the Mexican-American children in third grade, it increased again in fifth grade. In contrast, the only segments that continued to vary for the fifth grade Cuban-Americans were /ə/ and /θ/. Citing Menyuk (1971) and Fry (1966), Duncan (1983) pointed out that the phonemes causing the greatest difficulty for all groups were those acquired late in first-language acquisition.

To summarize the preceding studies, then, the most frequent phonological variation reported for the English of U.S. Hispanics was the following:

reduction of word-final consonant clusters

devoicing and deletion of word-final consonants,
particularly /z/

vocalization of syllable final /l/

/v/--> [b]-[Ø]

/d/--> [d]

/θ/--> [t]-[^tθ]-[s]-[f]

/s/--> [ç] /ç/--> [ʃ]

/y/--> [j] /j/--> [y]

/n/--> [ŋ]-[~] /ŋ/--> [n]-[~]

/iy,I/--> [i]

/uw,U/--> [u]

/ey,E/--> [e]

/ʌ/--> [ɔ]

/ʌ,æ,ɔ/--> [a]

replacement of off-glides by higher, shorter Spanish variant

From the research on U.S. Hispanic English it appears that these Hispanic varieties of English are influenced by Spanish phonological rules. This influence may be limited to only sporadic phonetic output or it may affect numerous phonemes, creating a phonological inventory closer to that of Spanish.

3.3 The Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics of U.S. Hispanics

Less variation has been reported in the morphology, syntax, and semantics of Hispanic English than in the phonology of these varieties of

English. In his discussion of Chicano English, Metcalf (1979:15-16) found that

comparing the structure of Spanish with that of English, one could predict marked deviations from Anglo norms in pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax, but most deviations actually encountered seem to be in pronunciation, very few in syntax, and even fewer in vocabulary. . . . Chicano English speakers do not by any means display all the language-learning errors one would expect of a Spanish speaker learning English for the first time in a classroom. They hear enough English outside the classroom, apparently, to insure that in syntactic structure and vocabulary their English is much like that of Anglos.

Of the variation that is found in the nonphonological aspects of U.S. Hispanic English, some appears to be the result of Spanish influence. However, as noted in Chapter One, there are other factors, not directly related to Spanish influence, that also contribute to variation in Hispanic English.

As was noted for phonological variation in section 3.2.4, there are numerous variables that affect the data in linguistic studies, including sociological composition, linguistic environment, and measurement methodology. Once again, most of the studies on the nonphonological linguistic aspects of Hispanic English examined the language of young Chicano children, rather than adults or other Hispanic groups. Further, as with the phonological studies, most of the work on morphology, syntax and semantics has been descriptive, without quantitative information. Very little is known of the grammatical and lexical aspects of Puerto Rican English, while there are no studies that examine these facets of Cuban-American English.

3.3.1 Studies on U.S. Hispanic English Morphology

The morphological variation in U.S. Hispanic English shows very little influence from the Spanish morphological system. While Spanish

has a more highly inflected verbal paradigm, the Hispanic English system loses inflections rather than acquire additional ones. As Weinreich (1953:41) noted, "Significantly, in the interference of two grammatical patterns it is ordinarily the one which uses relatively free and invariant morphemes in its paradigm . . . which serves as the model for imitation." Likewise, Zobl (1980b:45) pointed out the observation by several scholars that "conflicting morphologies will tend to cancel each other out and lead to simplification." This same simplification also exists in L1 developmental language and regional and social dialect variation.

Several sources have discussed U.S. Hispanic English morphology. In addition to many of the works cited in section 3.2.4, there are other studies which specifically investigated the morphology, syntax, and semantics of Hispanic English. Two of these examined Chicano school children in a bilingual and monolingual school in Redwood, California. The first, by Politzer and Ramirez (1973), involved 126 children in kindergarten through third grade. The children saw a short silent film and were then asked to retell the story and answer questions about it.

The second study, by Cohen (1975), included ninety children in grades one through three. This was a longitudinal study in which the students were tested at the beginning of the project and again two years later. The children were shown a picture, a photograph, and a painting and then asked to describe them.

A third study, also of Chicano children, was done by Johnson and Abraham (1973). Forty children were involved, twenty first-graders, ten of whom were recent arrivals from Mexico, and twenty junior high school students. Like Cohen's (1975) subjects, the students in this study

described pictures. They also translated sentences from Spanish to English.

In the studies done on teenage Hispanic English and those on young children's speech, there was little evidence of any attempt to mark the English parts of speech with Spanish inflections. Aside from sporadic occurrences of plural adjectives, the majority of the examples involved either deletion of the English marker or addition of the marker in an overgeneralized environment.

In the English of the more mature speakers, variation was primarily the result of deletion. Wolfram (1973) found that /t/ and /d/ deleted less frequently when bimorphemic than when monomorphemic. Further, these alveolar noncontinuants were more likely to be retained if they were past-tense markers than other grammatical markers. However, the phonological environment proved more significant than the grammatical function in influencing the rate of deletion.

Although Hartford (1975) for the most part avoided any discussion of morphological function, she did include the grammatical uses for /s/ and /z/. Like Wolfram (1973), Hartford (1975) found phonological environment to be the primary factor in variation with grammatical function being less significant. She also noted little difference between variation of the third-person singular verb marker and the plural noun marker.

The studies on young Hispanic children encountered both deleted and, to a lesser extent, extraneous morphological markers. Since most of the young speakers were in the first grades of school, the variation found in the English of some subjects may be characteristic of a not fully developed language system, be it through first or second language

acquisition. On the other hand, because many Hispanic children do not speak English before entering school, some of the subjects were barely fluent in English when tested.

Although Williams (1972) did not include background information on his subjects, some clearly fit the second category, showing little previous exposure to English. Williams (1972:11) discovered that in the English of his subjects "almost none of the verb endings ([s, z, t, d]) were pronounced."

Natalacio and Williams (1971) likewise reported the absence of third-person singular inflections. This was the most noticeable variation cited in their study. They did not, however, specifically comment on the past tense markers.

Similarly, in the few examples that Gingras (1972) gave of morphological and syntactic divergence, he also included missing third-person singular, as well as missing past tense markers.

Like the previous studies, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) also found deletion of the third-person singular and past tense marker. They claimed that deletion of the past tense marker was the most frequent variation, while deletion of the third-person marker was also quite common. However, they pointed out that since the children were telling a story in the past tense, this verb form occurred more frequently than did other forms.

Deletion of the noun marker was also noted. However, the short ([s], [z]) and long ([ɪz]) plural markers were usually not distinguished. Natalacio and Williams (1971), Gingras, (1972), Politzer and Ramirez (1973), and Cohen (1975) all gave examples of plural

deletion, though this was less frequent than deletion of the third-person marker.

Other variation was reported to a lesser degree. Deletion of the possessive marker occurred in the studies by Natalacio and Williams (1971) and Politzer and Ramirez (1973). Natalacio and Williams (1971) also noted the deletion of the contracted allomorph of has. Politzer and Ramirez (1973) encountered some deletion of the past participle marker and the fairly frequent substitution of a for an. Whether or not this was the result of /n/ deletion was not explored. Cohen (1975) also noted deletion of the present participle marker in a few instances, e.g., they're play. However, overall -ing deletion was quite rare.

Some studies found regularized past tense forms. Politzer and Ramirez (1973:5) gave one such example, throwed, as well as one example of double marking the comparative, more higher.

There were also examples of extraneous marking. Natalacio and Williams (1971:58) pointed out instances of hypercorrection "resulting in violations of the subject/verb concord, e.g., 'Gloria and David drinksu milk,' and hyper-plurals such as 'feets'."

In addition to the above descriptive studies, as Chapter One noted, there have been acquisitional studies, such as Dulay and Burt (1973), that examined the second language acquisition of English by young Hispanic children in California and New York. These will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Five.

The most common variation, therefore, found in U.S. Hispanic English morphology is the following:

Deletion of the third-person singular verb marker
 Deletion of the past tense marker
 Deletion of the plural marker
 Deletion of the possessive marker
 Addition of extraneous markers

All of the above variation is also characteristic of L1 developmental language.

3.3.2 Studies on U.S. Hispanic English Syntax

Like the morphology of U.S. Hispanic English, the syntax has variation that appears to be the result of L1 developmental language. However, there is evidence of Spanish transfer as well.

Most of the studies that discussed the English morphology of U.S. Hispanics also discussed the syntax of this group. Of the studies on teenage U.S. Hispanic English, the only syntactic description was Wolfram's (1973) discussion of the negative.

The most prevalent aspect of variation in the use of the negative by Wolfram's (1973) subjects was the occurrence of multiple negation. The form ain't also was found in the speech of many of the subjects, primarily in those sentences with multiple negation.

Wolfram (1973:150) found that, in general, "the particle not and its morphophonemic alternates occur with auxiliaries and copulas, the same way that they do in standard English." There were, however, a few examples of no used in place of not. These occurred only in place of don't or isn't. There were also occurrences of not without the auxiliary do.

Wolfram (1973) also cited some examples of pleonastic tense marking with didn't, in which the past tense was marked on the main verb as well as the do auxiliary. However, this double marking of tense did not occur with questions or affirmative statements.

Although the remaining studies, which concerned the English syntax of young Hispanic children, did not examine the negative in as great a detail, there were frequent references to the use of double negation. Politzer and Ramirez (1973) noted the occurrence of double negatives and ain't among the second grade children. In addition, they gave one example of pleonastic tense marking. Some of the kindergarten and first grade children used no or not without the auxiliary do. Lastra de Suarez (1975) also reported the use of double negation, as did Gingras (1972). Gingras (1972) gave one example of no without the do auxiliary. Williams' (1972) subjects likewise sometimes used no in place of not without auxiliaries. However, Cohen (1975) found only a few occurrences of double negation in his data and only one use of no for not.

Variation also occurred in the verbal forms. In some instances the auxiliary or main verb was omitted. Johnson and Abraham (1973), Politzer and Ramirez (1973), and Williams (1972) all noted the deletion of be with the present participle. In addition, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) and Cohen (1975) reported the deletion of the copula by their subjects. In Politzer and Ramirez' (1973) data other verbs were likewise deleted in some instances, as was the auxiliary in some question constructions.

Other variation with the verb involved the use of an inappropriate form of the verb. Lastra de Suarez (1975) gave examples of the past tense used in place of the infinitive, of the past participle substituted for the irregular past tense form, and of the infinitive and gerund interchanged. Johnson and Abraham (1973) had one example of the present participle used with do instead of be.

Variation in the choice of tense was another characteristic of the variation in U.S. Hispanic English. Gingras (1972) found the present

tense used in place of the present perfect. Cohen (1975) noted several examples of shifting between tenses in contexts where this would normally not be done. Cohen (1975) and Natalacio and Williams (1971) also gave examples of the use of could in place of can. There was, however, little additional reference to modals in the literature.

For noun phrases the greatest variation noted was in the use of articles. Politzer and Ramirez (1973) found the deletion of the article to be one of the more frequent types of variation in their study. Cohen (1975) likewise presented examples of article deletion, as well as inconsistencies in the use of the definite and indefinite articles. Another variation Cohen (1975) noted was the use of the indefinite article with plural nouns. The indefinite article was also replaced by one in Cohen's (1975) and Natalacio and William's (1971) data.

Other parts of the noun phrase likewise exhibited variation. Cohen (1975) gave examples of the singular demonstrative used with plural nouns. He also found some used with singular nouns and the interchanging of much and many.

There were almost no examples of Spanish word order in the noun phrase. Rarely was the adjective ordered after the noun, with Cohen (1975) noting the only two such examples.

Pronouns were more problematic. There were several instances of inappropriate case. Johnson and Abraham (1973) presented examples of the object pronoun used as a subject pronoun. Cohen (1975) found the same substitution, as well as examples of the object pronoun used for the possessive adjective. Several sources, including Natalacio and Williams (1971) and Cohen (1975), reported the replacement of the possessive adjective by the definite article, as often occurs in Spanish.

Ordering of pronouns likewise exhibited some variation. Johnson and Abraham (1973) reported confusion in the ordering of the object pronouns, with the direct object following the indirect object when the latter was preceded by to.

In some instances pronouns were redundant or absent. Lastra de Suarez (1975) listed sentences in which pronominal subjects or objects were used in addition to the nominal forms. Cohen (1975) and Politzer and Ramirez (1973) found the same redundancy, as well as omission of both nominal and pronominal forms. Finally, Cohen (1975) had several examples of deletion of the relative pronoun when it represented the subject of the dependent clause.

Several sources, including Politzer and Ramirez (1973) and Cohen (1975), also encountered inconsistencies in the gender and number of the pronoun.

Prepositions were one of the greatest sources of variation for the Hispanic speakers of English. In particular in and on were interchanged, since both frequently translate as en in Spanish. Politzer and Ramirez (1973) found that, next to past tense marking, prepositional substitution was the most frequent source of variation for their subjects. In addition to the interchanging of in and on, they found examples of on replaced by into, in by under, into by from or to, of by at, and at by on or to.

Cohen (1975) likewise reported confusion in the use of prepositions. As well as many of those substitutions cited above, Cohen (1975) found the following replacements: from, in, and with for at; at, to, and up for on; to and at for in; after and at back to for behind; with for to; down for toward; to for onto; from for for; in for with; on

for during; and up for down. Cohen (1975) also listed examples of added or omitted prepositions.

Similarly, two-word verbs had substitutions, additions, or deletions of the preposition-like element. Johnson and Abraham (1973) gave the example of climb to in place of climb up. However, more commonly the particle was deleted. Johnson and Abraham (1973), Politzer and Ramirez (1973), and Cohen (1975) cited the omission of the second element in verbs like look at, look for, put in, eat off, climb up, and come up. Finally, Cohen (1975) had two examples of an added particle, "He was trying to catch his cat back," and "The lady is carrying up the little girl." In these latter examples, catch appears to be confused with get back, and carry with pick up or hold up.

Other variation occurred in the ordering of the object and adverb or adverbial phrase. Lastra de Suarez (1975) and Gingras (1972) both gave examples of this variation. However, Cohen (1975) found only three occurrences of variation with adverb placement among his subjects, one of which did not involve the object. Cohen (1975) also found a few examples of incomplete adverbial phrases. In general, though, his subjects had few problems with adverbs.

Cohen (1975) cited some additional variation. He found several examples of inappropriate conjunctions, including like if for as if, so if for if, when for while, as well as one omission of the conjunction. Finally, Cohen (1975) also noted two examples of copula-subject order in indirect questions.

Although not all studies measured the same syntactic elements, some variant forms reoccurred in the literature. These included the following:

- Double negation
- Inappropriate tense
- Omission of the copula or be auxiliary
- Omission of the definite or indefinite article
- Inappropriate use of the definite or indefinite article
- Repetition of subject or object pronouns
- Inappropriate pronominal case
- Inappropriate preposition
- Deletion of preposition
- Deletion of the particle in two-word verbs
- Inappropriate placement of adverbs

3.3.3 Studies on U.S. Hispanic English Semantics

As in second language phonological variation, second language semantic variation is usually attributed to transfer of the first language system. Both Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1956) noted that the semantic mapping of a language undergoes change through the introduction of new lexical items and the redefinition of existing ones. Haugen (1956:43) claimed that "when languages are in contact, there is a strong tendency for speakers to equate items in the one with items in the other. Some items thereby acquire associations different from those they have for monolinguals with such experience." This equating of items was termed interlingual identification by Weinreich (1953).

Interlingual identification is particularly likely when the two language systems share diamorphs which Haugen (1956:46) defined as "interlingually identified variants of morphemes or groups of morphemes." Haugen (1956:46) went on to propose that "two criteria are available for identifying morphemes: their phonemic shape and their meaning." When both conditions are present, the result is a homologous diamorph (Haugen 1956:47).

Identification of morphemes across languages may present some difficulty, since often there is not a one-to-one correspondence. Rather than identifying morphemes, there is the need to identify lexemes which

are "any construct with a meaning different from that which the grammatical construction confers upon the combination of its units" (Haugen 1965:48).

However, Haugen (1956:48) noted that "even when lexemes can be identified, their equivalence is normally limited to specific contexts." When the contexts for morphemes are expanded, the result is a loanshift in which "no new morpheme is introduced, but the lexeme borrowed is translated by the redistribution of morphemes already found in the language" (Haugen 1956:52).

Within loanshifts Haugen (1956:63) included semantic extensions, loan translations, and loan renditions. A semantic extension expands the semantic parameters of the lexeme, while a loan translation or calque substitutes corresponding morphemes to form a new lexeme. A loan rendition, unlike a loan translation, does not have the identical morpheme structure as the borrowed lexeme.

When a lexeme is introduced "with a phonemic shape which shows diaphonic [phonological] identification with a morpheme in the source language, a loanword results" (Haugen 1956:52). Haugen (1956:60) further suggested the term loanblend for those items that show a combination of loanword and loanshift.

However, the influence of another language is not the only source of variation. There may be remapping through the overequation of synonyms within the language. Palmer (1981:89) claimed that

it can, however, be maintained that there are no real synonyms, that no two words have exactly the same meaning. Indeed it would seem unlikely that two words with exactly the same meaning would both survive in a language. If we look at possible synonyms there are at least five ways in which they can be seen to differ.

These include a) belonging to different dialects, b) belonging to different styles, c) evoking different emotive meanings, d) being collocatively restricted, or e) having overlapping meanings, (Palmer 1981:89-91). It is particularly these last differences which are obscured by second language speakers. The result is the substitution of partially synonymous lexemes in nonsynonymous contexts.

Lyons (1977:291) noted that these general lexemes often have numerous hyponyms, which are more specific, subordinate lexemes. He found that

there are certain very general verbs like "act," "move," "become," "make," "get," and "be," which have large numbers of hyponyms. We have already seen, for example, that "get" has as hyponyms "buy" and "steal," and to these we may add "borrow," "win," "earn," "catch," "find," "grasp," etc. (Lyons 1977:298)

The general nature of these verbs causes confusion in synonymy by the inappropriate choice of hyponyms.

Finally, some words appear to be confused in a way similar to that in the preposition substitutions. Kempson (1977:125) pointed out that there are

verbs such as go and do which both have a clearly specifiable meaning and yet cover a wide variety of actions, since the meaning is so general. The sentence He went to the station can be used to describe actions as dissimilar as walking, running, going on a bicycle, going on a motor-bike, or going in a Rolls-Royce, to mention but a few, for go is quite unspecified as to the specification of the action. It simply has a meaning of directional motion.

The description of go is very similar to that of a preposition and lends itself to the same confusion for speakers of English as a second language as that evidenced in the use of prepositions.

Thus, like the previous variation, the sources of influence on semantic variation can come both from the ancestral language and from the acquisitional process itself, independent of first language transfer.

Unlike the semantic influence of English on Spanish, as described by Fernandez (1973), Varela de Cellar (1974), and Franqui (1979) for Cuban-American Spanish, the Spanish influence on English is relatively limited. This is not surprising, since U.S. Hispanic contact with the English culture necessitates the use of new vocabulary items.

Lastra de Suarez (1975) gave only a few examples of semantic variation. She found one occurrence of a semantic shift: "My mother works in a fabric," (Lastra de Suarez 1975:67), in which the Spanish word fábrica 'factory' was translated by the false cognate fabric. She also found two examples of loan translations, in which the phrases were translated literally: pan dulce 'sweet rolls', rendered as sweet bread; and en la noche 'at night', as in the night (Lastra de Suarez 1975:67).

Although Lastra de Suarez (1975) found examples of semantic variation in nouns, overall in the literature verbs were most commonly affected. Williams (1972:17) cited one semantic shift in which win was given the semantic scope of vencer, which includes both win and beat: "He win Mike and I win him."

Politzer and Ramirez (1973) divided semantic variation into two categories: Spanish influence and general semantic confusion. In the former category they listed the interchanging of was and went, claiming this to be the result of neutralization of the verbs ser 'to be' and ir 'to go' in the preterite tense of Spanish. They also claimed that interchanging say and speak was the result of confusion between decir 'to say, tell' and hablar 'to speak, talk'.

The general confusion cited by Politzer and Ramirez (1973) involved those verbs discussed by Kempson (1977) and Lyons (1977), as well as the limitations in synonymy mentioned by Palmer (1981). These included go, get, or shoot, for fall; and go up, come, or come on for climb up or get up. There was also one example of come used for go.

Cohen (1975:206) likewise found several examples of semantic variation. He cited Spanish interference for the substitution of change for exchange, since cambiar can have both meanings. Cohen (1975) attributed the remaining variation to L1 developmental language. He noted that three of these verbs are commonly confused in child language: tell for ask, see for look at, and hear for listen to. For the remaining variation Cohen (1975:206) claimed that "there may be some semantic confusion based on incomplete knowledge of the semantic fields for certain English verbs--the same kind of problems that young native speakers of the language encounter." These substitutions again involved the relationships cited by Palmer (1981), Kempson (1977), and Lyons (1977): be staying for be located, put for point or hold, get on for be on, and keep for carries.

Therefore, examples from U.S. Hispanic English suggest that, like syntactic variation, influence in semantic variation may come from both Spanish and developmental language. In contrast, almost all the variation in the phonology had Spanish transfer as at least one potential source, while morphological variation showed almost no direct Spanish influence.

The variation in the different studies on U.S. Hispanic English was similar though not identical. However, because quantitative measurements

were rarely included, particularly for the nonphonological data, comparisons are difficult.

3.4 Codeswitching

A discussion of the language of the U.S. Hispanic cannot, however, end with Spanish and English. The principal language of many U.S. Hispanic speakers of English is neither Spanish nor English. Instead, there is a constant alternation between the two, known as codeswitching.

Codeswitching is not to be confused with the use of loanwords, by which words are incorporated into the language with those changes necessary to accommodate the phonology and morphology of the borrowing language. Codeswitching, in contrast, preserves the phonological and morphological system, as well as the syntax and semantics of each language.

The term codeswitching can have several interpretations. McClure (1981:70) noted the difference between Gumperz's situational switching and conversational switching, pointing out that the former "is concerned with the alternate choice of codes occasioned by shifts in factors, such as topic, setting, and participants" (McClure 1981:70). In the latter, "the items in question form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations apparently identical to those which join passages in a single language, (Gumperz 1976)" (McClure 1981:70). McClure (1981:70) noted that, unlike conversational switching, situational switching is "highly unlikely to occur within a sentence but instead occurs between structurally identifiable stages or episodes of a speech event."

McClure (1981:86) also pointed out the difference between codechanging and codemixing. Codechanging "is the alternation of

languages at the level of the major constituent" and is "generally motivated by situational and stylistic factors" (McClure 1981:86). Codemixing, on the other hand, "occurs when a person is momentarily unable to access a term for a concept in the language which he is using but can access it in another code, or when he lacks a term in the code he is using which exactly expresses the concept he wishes to convey" (McClure 1981:86).

One difficulty in gathering data on codeswitching is that often, as Zentilla (1981:110) and others have observed, it is used among the intragroup and not with outsiders. Nevertheless, there have been several studies done on codeswitching for both Chicanos and, to a lesser extent, Puerto Ricans.⁵

That codeswitching is prevalent among the second generation Cuban-Americans in Little Havana is evident from both self-descriptions and observations of language usage in the hallways of the school and in the community. It is likely that the codeswitching of this group is predominantly conversational, involving codemixing. However, once again, no research has been done on this aspect of Cuban-American language.

3.5 Summary

From the comparison of the Spanish and English phonological systems, the variation in U.S. Hispanic English appears to result from Spanish transfer. However, other factors were occasionally cited as the source of phonological variation. These included L1 developmental language and regional and social dialects. This influence was found in both the substitution and the deletion of segments.

In contrast, variation in nonphonological areas was often attributed to developmental language, particularly in the morphology,

and, to a lesser degree, the syntax and semantics. The simplification in the morphological system resembled that found in L1 developmental language and some regional and social dialects of English. For the syntax, word order was often the result of corresponding Spanish constructions, while the omission of be was not. For the substitution of prepositions, in some instances there were corresponding Spanish forms, while for others there were not. The use of double negation corresponded to L1 developmental language, Spanish transfer, and some monolingual varieties of English. Likewise, while loan translations and some semantic shifts resulted from transferring the semantic mapping of Spanish morphemes to their English counterparts, other semantic shifts were the result of confusion in synonymy.

Since Cuban-Americans share a common ancestral language with other U.S. Hispanic speakers of English, variation in the English of Cuban-Americans would be expected to resemble that described for other Hispanic groups. However, as Duncan's (1983) data reveal, the areas of greatest variation may differ, as may the overall degree of variation.

The next two chapters examine the linguistic variation present in the English of the Cuban-American subjects in this study. Chapter Four discusses variation in the phonology, while Chapter Five investigates the morphological, syntactic, and semantic variation.

Notes

¹Although there is greater variation in the phonology than in the morphology, syntax, or semantics among educated varieties of English, there is nevertheless one phonological system that is frequently cited as representative of the educated norm: General American English. This is the system taught to foreign students studying English and described in pronunciation manuals. For means of comparison with Spanish, this system is that given in Tables 3-3 and 3-4 of the present chapter. It is recognized that the educated norm in different regions of the United States will vary to some degree in the phonological inventory from that of General American English.

²Hammond (1976:10) referred to this speech as "rapid," noting that, in comparison to Harris' (1969:7) classification, "it might be said that the style of speech which is defined as 'rapid speech' encompasses the upper half of Harris' allegretto style and of course presto." Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) chose the term casual speech. The present study will likewise use the latter term to refer to that style of speech used in informal social settings.

³For a description of these varieties of Spanish, see del Rosario (1970), Jimenez Sabater (1975), and Nuñez Cedeño (1980), among others.

⁴A similar study, using only the Hispanic groups, constituted Duncan's (1979) dissertation. It is likely that the same data were used in the 1983 study. Duncan (1979:65) reported that the site for the Cuban-American study was "a lower-middle to middle class semi-residential suburb of Miami, Florida. . . . Approximately 45% of the school enrollment is Cuban-American." This community, therefore, had a Cuban-American population considerably smaller than that of the present study.

⁵For a recent collection of articles on Hispanic codeswitching see Duran (1981).

CHAPTER FOUR
CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH PHONOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three has shown that the English of U.S. Hispanics may exhibit variation, displaying potential influence from Spanish transfer, as well as L1 and L2 developmental language variation. The influence of Spanish is particularly noticeable in the phonology of U.S. Hispanic English. However, different Hispanic groups exhibit different levels of variation. Further, the segments affected and the variant forms produced are not always the same for every Hispanic group.

As was noted in Chapter Three, in U.S. Hispanic phonological variation, segments may be replaced or deleted in accordance with Spanish phonological rules. Developmental processes may also be relevant, including hypercorrection and overgeneralization. Finally, surrounding dialects may influence Hispanic English.

The present chapter examines the English phonology of second generation Cuban-Americans in the Miami ethnic community, establishing which segments vary and to what degree. It explores the sources of this variation and the linguistic environments that promote variation. This variation is then compared to that found in other varieties of Hispanic English.

Although all of the phonological variation mentioned in Chapter Three for other Hispanic English dialects was also found in the English of the Cuban-American subjects, most was sporadic, occurring only in the

speech of a few subjects and representing a minute percentage of the total utterances. With rare exception, the variation did not constitute changes on the phonemic level and instead represented low frequency phonetic alternation.

As Chapter One noted, because the variation was low frequency, current theories would dismiss it as errors of performance. However, to do so would result in the failure to capture the principal means by which these subjects are identified as speakers of a Cuban-American variety of English.

4.2 Segment Substitutions

The phonological variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans in this study was of two types: substitution of segments, and word-final deletion of segments, both following a vowel and in clusters. Of the segment substitutions, those in Table 4-1 were the most frequent.¹

TABLE 4-1
SEGMENT SUBSTITUTIONS
IN CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH

Phoneme	Most Common Variants	Group Mean Percentage of Variation	Number of Subjects with Variation
/č/	[š]-[^t š]	15.42%	18
/j/	[y]-[^{d̪} ʒ]	9.47%	14
/ʌ/	[a]-[a]-[o]-[o]	5.73%	14
/ä/	[d]-[^{d̪} ä]	3.10%	25
/θ/	[t]-[^{t̪} θ]-[s]	1.59%	9
/š/	[č]-[^{t̪} š]	1.33%	9

Table 4-1 shows that Spanish transfer is a likely source of the phonological variation exhibited by the Cuban-Americans. However, as in Duncan's (1983) study, all of the phonemes in Table 4-1 occur less frequently in languages universally and are mastered later in a child's first language acquisition.

4.2.1 Sources of Variation for Segment Substitutions

Four of the five consonant substitutions in Table 4-1 reflect a phonetic alternation of segments, similar to that found in Cuban Spanish, which contrast phonemically in English. The phonetic alternation between the voiceless palatoalveolar affricate and fricative, [č] and [š], was documented for Cuban Spanish in Chapter Three, Hammond's (1976) data showing [š] as the variant in roughly one-fourth of the total occurrences of /č/. However, the phonetic distribution of [č] and [š] has not been documented. While it has been suggested that this alternation is in free variation in Cuban Spanish, there are no empirical studies to support this claim.²

The second phoneme in Table 4-1, the voiced palatoalveolar affricate, /j/, alternates with its glide counterpart, /y/. As noted in Chapter Three, these phonemes are likewise phonetic variants in Cuban Spanish. Unlike in the case of [č] and [š], some research has been done to establish the environments for this alternation. Saciuk's (1980) study, discussed in Chapter Three, showed empirically that for his Miami-Cuban subjects the following hierarchy of environments promoted occlusion of /y/, phrase-initial representing the most conducive environment:

1. Phrase-initial position
2. Word-initial, postconsonantal position
3. Word-initial, postvocalic position
4. Word-internal, intervocalic position

The variation in /d/ also involves continuancy. As Chapter Three established, in Cuban Spanish, voiced obstruent stops are in complementary distribution with their corresponding fricative variants. When following a continuant segment other than /l/, /d/ is frequently realized as a voiced dental fricative, [ð].³

The realizations in Table I also illustrate two examples of segment replacement to conform to an acceptable Spanish phonological inventory. Chapter Three pointed out that Hispanic speakers replace [θ] with the nearest Spanish counterpart, the voiceless alveolar stop, [t], or the voiceless alveolar fricative, [s], as well as with the voiceless labiodental fricative, [f].

Likewise, the mid central vowel, /ʌ/, does not occur in Spanish. Hispanic speakers of English pronounce this vowel as either the low central Spanish vowel, [a], or, the phonetic variants of Spanish /o/, or as English [ɑ] or [ɔ].

The most common variants for /ɔ/ and /ʃ/ in the English of the Cuban-American subjects involve loss of closure, whereas for /d/, /θ/, and /ʒ/ closure is increased. For /ʌ/, the variants maintain either the height or the unrounded feature of the vowel.

In addition to noting the variation that did occur in the English of the Cuban-American subjects, it is also relevant to point out the potential interference from Cuban Spanish that did not occur with a noticeable degree of frequency. There was little neutralization of /s/ and /z/, or of /n/ and /ɲ/. Voiced stops were rarely spirantized and voiceless stops were consistently aspirated in the appropriate environments. There was almost no neutralization of high vowels, and all vowels were regularly reduced to schwa in unstressed syllables.

Almost all the variant forms were similar or identical to phonetic variants found in the English of monolingual speakers. These variant forms represented a shift to a similarly articulated segment, usually varying in only one feature. The result was to produce a phonetic variant of a different phoneme than intended or to produce a variant outside the range of expected variants but not necessarily within the range of any other phoneme.

Unlike the segments resulting from potential Spanish interference that did not occur, the segments in Table 4-1 share the following characteristics:

All are segments that are mastered later, used less frequently, and often mispronounced in the acquisition of English as a first language.

These segments are relatively less common in languages universally.

In comparing data from studies on the mastery, difficulty, and usage of consonant phonemes by young children acquiring English as a first language, Menyuk (1971) pointed out that similar sequences existed for the English phonemes even when these different measures were used. For the three studies, the phonemes were divided into two groups, as shown in Table 4-2.

TABLE 4-2
RANK ORDERING OF USAGE OF SOUNDS,
MASTERY OF SOUNDS, AND ACCURACY OF PRODUCTION

Irwin's Data		Wellman's Data		Snow's Data	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Greater than Adult Usage	Less than Adult Usage	Mastered by 4	Mastered after 4	From 1 to 91 Errors	From 100 to 1067 Errors
d	y	w	t	n	l
h	s	h	z	p	ŋ
b	ʒ	m	v	m	ʃ
m	ʃ	n	s	b	č
k	θ	b	ʂ	w	ʂ
g	ŋ	f	ʒ	h	s
p	f	p	č	d	v
w	č	d	ɹ	t	ɹ
t	n	k	v	k	z
	z	g	ʃ	y	č
	č	l	ŋ	f	θ
	ɹ	y	θ	g	ʒ
			č		

Paula Menyuk, 1971. The Acquisition and Development of Language, p.76.
Reproduced by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

With one exception, in all three studies the consonant segments listed in Table 4-1 appear in the second list.⁴ These segments were used less, mastered later, and correctly produced by fewer children than the segments appearing in the first column of each study.

However, not all segments shown in the second columns of Table 4-2 varied to the same degree in the English of the Cuban-Americans. As was noted, there is another factor that unites the consonant variation in Cuban-American English: alternation of continuancy. In an earlier study, Menyuk (1968) found that of six features, continuancy was one of the latest features to be mastered in early language development. Just as the segments acquired later exhibited greater variation, those that were contrasted by a feature acquired later also were likely to vary.

Thus, there is a relationship between late mastery, low usage, and difficulty in first language acquisition, and variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans.

Chapter One noted that, in addition to similarities in first and second language acquisition, second language studies, such as Gass and Ard (1980), have also found a relationship between linguistic universals and second language acquisition. These in turn may also pertain to first language acquisition.

As Jakobson (1968) suggested, the segments acquired later and used less frequently in first language acquisition are also those that are found less frequently in languages universally. They are the segments that are marked for phonological features, that is, that occur less frequently in a given language than do their unmarked counterparts.

Jakobson (1968) and Gamkrelidze (1978), pointed out that the interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ occurred infrequently in languages universally. In the marking systems used by both Gamkrelidze (1978) and Chomsky and Halle (1968), these segments were more marked than their alveolar stop or fricative counterparts.

Jakobson (1968:53) also proposed that palatals like /ʃ/, /ç/, and /j/ presupposed the existence of front consonants, while affricates such as /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ presupposed the presence of fricatives.⁵ Fricatives in turn presupposed the existence of stop segments.

The vowel /ʌ/ has likewise been labeled a more marked segment than other English vowels. Chomsky and Halle (1968:409) considered /ʌ/ to be the most marked vowel in the English system. Crothers (1978) also regarded this segment as less universal than other English vowels.

Therefore, the segments that were most likely to undergo substitution variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans in this study were those that are more marked universally. They are mastered later in first language acquisition, the consonants varying in a feature also acquired later in first language development.

While all the segments in Table 4-1 showed variation typical of Spanish interference, other types of Spanish interference occurred at lower levels of frequency and in the speech of fewer subjects. Developmental language, including language universals, rather than first language transfer enables the prediction that the segments in Table 4-1 will be the most difficult to master and therefore the most likely to become fossilized. Likewise, developmental language, including language universals, accounts for those segments that do not show this same degree of variation.

As was noted previously, Spanish has phonetic pairs that alternate in continuancy. However, in the English of the Cuban-Americans, the segments in each pair did not exhibit an equal degree of variation or, in some cases, a distribution that paralleled the alternation of these segments in Cuban Spanish.

The segments showing greater difficulty, less usage, and later mastery in L1 developmental language, as well as less universality, exhibited the greater variation, even when these segments were the more common variants in Spanish. Although [č] occurs more frequently than [š] in Cuban Spanish, the English affricate /č/ lost affrication more often than /š/ gained closure, affricates being less universal than fricatives. Likewise, the less universal and later acquired /j/ displayed greater variation than did /y/. Finally, although there was

some degree of variation for word-initial and intervocalic /ð/, there was no comparable variation for its less marked, earlier acquired counterpart, /d/, in these same environments.⁶

Spanish transfer alone, then, does not account for the segments that exhibited variation. The present study provides evidence that, as Zobl (1980a) claimed, the linguistic system of the first language reinforces developmental language variation. Also, as Zobl (1980a) proposed, it is this reinforced variation that results in fossilization.

Although the Cuban-American speakers began to acquire English by the age of ten, to a degree they match the profile in Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975) of children who show fossilization in their second language. For the vast majority of the subjects, the acquisition of English came later than Spanish. Further, most of the subjects had little contact with monolingual speakers of English, having interacted with other Cuban-American children who had acquired English under similar circumstances.

It appears, then, that variation in the English of the Cuban-American second generation may not be the result of Spanish interference alone. Such variation may reflect a very low frequency fossilization of only those segments resulting from Spanish influence that are universally more marked and that are mastered later in first language development. These are also the segments that are used less in the speech of young children acquiring English as a first language and that present more difficulty for those speakers. The consonant segments exhibit primarily variation in the feature of continuancy, also mastered late in first language development.

4.2.2 Environments Promoting Consonant Substitutions

Although the source of the phonological variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans does not appear to be Spanish transfer alone, it is possible that the linguistic environments that favor these variants in Spanish may also favor them in the English of these speakers. To examine which environments promoted variation, both substitution and deletion, a chi-square test was performed for the percentage of variation in each environment. If a significant difference was indicated, a one-tailed Fisher's exact test was performed to determine if the environments produced variation similar to the distribution encountered in Spanish. Because there were few occurrences of some segments in specific environments, a statistically significant difference was not always found, even when a tendency toward differentiation existed.⁷

As was shown in Table 4-1, the phoneme that exhibited the greatest frequency of substitution variation was /ê/. Although this segment was affected in the speech of fewer subjects than was /ê/, the degree of variation for /ê/ was greater. The distribution of the variation is shown in Table 4-4.⁸

TABLE 4-3
/ê/ VARIATION
(18 SUBJECTS)

##__V	C#__V	V#__V	V__V	V__#V	V__#C	V__##
33.33% (4/12)	6.90% (2/29)	35.14% (13/37)	25.29% (22/87)	8.00% (4/50)	18.00% (9/50)	29.17% (14/48)
[^t s]--3	[^t s]--0	[^t s]--4	[^t s]--8	[^t s]--3	[^t s]--4	[^t s]--3
[s]--1	[s]--2	[s]--9	[s]--12	[s]--1	[s]--4	[s]--11
			[z]--2		[z]--1	

A significant difference ($p=.0061$) was found between postconsonantal and postvocalic position for the word-initial environment. Just as Saciuk (1980) encountered greater occlusion for /y/ following consonants, so also did /ɛ/ show greater occlusion following a consonant than a vowel. Likewise, there was less occlusion intervocalically within a word. However, there was no statistically significant difference between phrase-initial and word-initial postvocalic position; in fact, phrase-initial position showed greater variation than did word-initial, postconsonantal position. If /ɛ/ variation followed the pattern exhibited for /y/ in Spanish, then the greatest occlusion would occur in phrase-initial position, which was not the case.

In word-final position greater occlusion would be expected in prevocalic position, since in Spanish the segment can resyllabify to syllable-initial position, the only environment in which noncontinuant obstruents can occur phonetically. There was a statistically significant difference ($p=.0066$) between word-final, prevocalic position and phrase-final position but no other word-final difference reached a statistically significant level. Again, while a difference was indicated between prevocalic and preconsonantal position, there were not enough occurrences to establish a statistically significant contrast. Therefore, while there was some evidence that the variation resembled that of a Spanish alternation for continuancy, phrase-initial position provided a counterexample.

In addition to occlusively weakened variants, there were also three occurrences of voicing as well, resulting in the variant [ʒ]. This segment usually is found as a phonetic variant of /y/ in Spanish.

However, intervocalic voicing of voiceless segments can occur in Cuban Spanish, as Saciuk (1974) pointed out. The one occurrence of [ʔ] in word-final position preceded a voiced segment. As mentioned in the description of Spanish phonology in Chapter Three, voiceless segments can assimilate to a following voiced segment. Thus, to a degree /ɛ/ variation adhered to rules found in Cuban Spanish phonology.

However, for the counterpart of /ɛ/ this was not necessarily the case. Table 4-4 shows the distribution of /s/ in the English of the Cuban-Americans who exhibited /s/ variation.

TABLE 4-4
/s/ VARIATION
(9 SUBJECTS)

##__V	C#__V	V#__V	V__V	V__#V	V__#C	V__##
8.63% (12/139)	4.30% (4/93)	0.00% (0/39)	2.00% (1/50)	8.00% (2/25)	2.56% (1/39)	7.92% (8/101)
[tʃ]--8	[tʃ]--3	[tʃ]--0	[tʃ]--1	[tʃ]--1	[tʃ]--0	[tʃ]--1
[ɛ]--4	[ɛ]--1	[ɛ]--0	[ɛ]--0	[ɛ]--1	[ɛ]--1	[ɛ]--5
						[s]--1
						ø--1

Because of the low frequency of variation, there was no statistically significant difference between the environments for /s/ variation. There does, however, appear to be a tendency for /s/ to be more occlusive following a consonant, as occurred with /ɛ/. Yet, in word-final position /s/ showed greater occlusion than would be expected, particularly in phrase-final position. Thus, for /s/, as for /ɛ/, the variation did not follow in all environments the pattern anticipated for Spanish transfer.

Another phoneme in Table 4-1 exhibiting substitution variation in Cuban-American English was /j/. The distribution of this variation is given in Table 4-5.

TABLE 4-5
/j/ VARIATION
(14 SUBJECTS)

##_V	C##_V	V##_V	V__V	V__#V	V__#C	V__##
18.87% (10/53)	7.79% (6/77)	13.13% (13/99)	9.52% (4/42)	28.57% (2/7)	0.00% (0/12)	31.03% (9/29)
[^d z]--8	[^d z]--6	[^d z]--11	[^d z]--1	[^d z]--0	[^d z]--0	[^d z]--0
[y]--1	[y]--0	[y]--2	[y]--1	[y]--0	[y]--0	[y]--0
[ç]--1			[z]--2	[z]--1		[z]--7
				[s]--1		[s]--1
						[t ^s]--1

There was no statistically significant difference between the word-initial environments, although there does appear to be a trend toward greater occlusion before a consonant than a vowel. This parallels the variation for /ç/ and follows Saciuk's (1980) hierarchy. However, also like /ç/, /j/ showed less occlusion in phrase-initial position, the environment most conducive to occlusion in Miami-Cuban Spanish.

In phrase-final position, as expected from Spanish phonology, there was statistically less occlusion preceding a vowel than in phrase-final position ($p=.0386$). Yet the difference between prevocalic and preconsonantal position did not reach a statistically significant level.

Dalbor (1969) suggested that in some Spanish dialects, a preceding noncontinuant environment promotes closure for /y/. Thus, [j] would be the expected variant more frequently following a noncontinuant segment,

while less occlusive segments would occur elsewhere. This was not the case for the English variants, as Table 4-6 indicates.

TABLE 4-6
PRECEDING ENVIRONMENT
PROMOTING /j/ VARIATION

noncontinuant consonant	continuant consonant	continuant consonant or vowel
15.38% (4/26)	9.09% (2/22)	17.24% (15/87)

The continuancy of the preceding segment was not relevant to closure; a postcontinuant environment did not promote continuancy.

As with the previous segments, /ä/ also varied more in some environments than in others. Since /ä/ rarely occurs in word-final position in English, this environment was excluded from the present study. Table 4-7 shows the distribution of /ä/ variation.

TABLE 4-7
WORD-INITIAL AND INTERVOCALIC
/ä/ VARIATION
(25 SUBJECTS)

## __ V	C# __ V	V# __ V	V __ V
6.47% (69/1067)	3.07% (65/2120)	2.23% (16/716)	.99% (4/404)
[d]--39	[d]--38	[d]--6	[d]--2
[^d ä]--28	[^d ä]--21	[^d ä]--8	[^d ä]--1
[z]--1	[z]--3	[?]--2	ø--1
[?]--1	ø--1		
	[^d]--1		
	[t]--1		

As Table 4-7 illustrates, variation involved the substitution of noncontinuant segments in the majority of the cases. Either [ð] was replaced by the voiced stop [d] or by the voiced affricate [d̪]. In addition, there were sporadic occurrences of a voiceless alveolar stop, [t]; a glottal stop, [ʔ]; and a weakened voiced alveolar stop, [d̪̥].

Unlike /ʃ/, the distribution of /ð/ to some extent parallels the Spanish distribution, becoming noncontinuant following a pause or a noncontinuant segment. Table 4-8 shows the effect on /ð/ of a preceding noncontinuant segment.

TABLE 4-8
PRECEDING ENVIRONMENT
PROMOTING /ð/ VARIATION

noncontinuant consonant	continuant consonant	continuant consonant or vowel
3.61% (57/1580)	.74% (4/540)	1.59% (20/1256)

Using a one-tailed Fisher's exact test, the difference between variation of /ð/ following a noncontinuant consonant and following a continuant consonant is statistically greater ($p=.0001$). Likewise, though less, the difference between the post-noncontinuant environment and a postcontinuant environment is also statistically significant ($p=.0006$).

In 93% of the occurrences of a noncontinuant variant of /ð/ following a consonant, that consonant was noncontinuant as well. However, when vowels were grouped with continuant consonants, the percentage of noncontinuants following a noncontinuant as opposed to a continuant segment dropped to 74%. A postvocalic environment appeared

more conducive to a noncontinuant variant than did a preceding continuant consonant.

In some cases, however, the variants are not predictable from Spanish influence. These include word-initial [z], [t], [ʔ], [ᵈ] and Ø. The occurrence of [z] represents the substitution of a less marked segment for the highly marked [ᵈ]. In one instance, the [z] resulted from assimilation to a preceding /z/ segment. The [t] appears to be the result of devoicing [d]. However, this occurred following a voiced segment so no assimilation was involved.

The last three variants, [ʔ], [ᵈ], and Ø, would be expected in word-final, not word-initial position. The realization of /ᵈ/ as Ø intervocally is not unexpected, since Spanish /d/ may be deleted in this environment; however, it should not reduce or delete in word-initial position.

While the reduced variants are surprising in word-initial position from a Spanish phonological viewpoint, it must be noted that in English, /ᵈ/ normally occurs in functors, which have a tendency to weaken word-initially in the casual speech of native speakers. The occurrence of [ʔ], [ᵈ], and Ø, then, appears to be the result of influence from within the English phonological system.

The remaining consonant to undergo substitution variation in the speech of more than one or two subjects was /θ/. Although the frequency of variation was very low, nine subjects did produce variants other than the voiceless interdental fricative. Table 4-9 shows the distribution of variation by environment.

TABLE 4-9
/θ/ VARIATION
(9 SUBJECTS)

##__V	C#__V	V#__V	V__V	V__#V	V__#C	V__##
0.00% (0/13)	6.00% (3/50)	6.25% (4/64)	1.72% (1/58)	16.67% (1/6)	0.00% (0/9)	8.70% (2/23)
	[t]--2	[t]--2	[s]--1	[f]--1		[z]--1
	[^t θ]--1	[^t θ]--1				θ--1
		[s]--1				

While there appears to be more variation in some environments than others, this distribution was not statistically significant, in part due to the low level of variation. However, the variants for /θ/ do show a distribution related to Spanish phonology. In the word-initial positions all but one of the variants are noncontinuant, either [t] or the affricate segment [^tθ]. Intervocally and in word-final position the variants are continuant. The occurrence of a word-final spirant is consistent with Spanish phonology, which does not permit noncontinuant obstruent variants in word-final position.

In addition to the segments shown in Table 4-1, there were isolated occurrences of similar variation for other segments. For these too, when there were phonemic pairs which alternated phonetically in Spanish, the more universally marked and later acquired segment showed the greater variation. While the variation exhibited some relationship to a Spanish distribution, there were also differences.

For those segments that did not have counterparts in English there were only very isolated cases of segment replacement. In only one instance was /ɹ/ realized as a tap in the entire corpus of data.

Likewise, /g/ spirantized only once. The remaining variation for single consonants involved word-final deletion, which will be discussed in section 4.3.

4.2.3 Environments Promoting Variation in Vowels

Variation for vowels was also extremely limited. Only one vowel, /ʌ/, varied in the speech of more than three or four subjects. Because vowels behave very differently in content words than in functors, these environments were separated. In almost all instances in the data, the vowels reduced to [ə] in functor words and only showed variation in content words.

When /ʌ/ underwent variation in content words, it was generally realized by one of two basic tongue positions, center lowered or mid backed. For these two areas, there was a range of variants, differing only by slight shifts in tongue height and/or backing. Rather than list all these variants, this study has divided them into two groups, delimited by the segments that establish their boundary limits, as Table 4-10 illustrates.

TABLE 4-10
/ʌ/ VARIATION IN CONTENT WORDS
(14 SUBJECTS)

##__C	C#__C	V#__C	C__C
0.00% (0/3)	0.00% (0/11)	6.67% (1/15)	11.90% (65/546)
		[a] - [a]--1	[a] - [a]--38
			[o] - [o]--22
			[aw]--3
			[E]--1
			[u]--1

Although considerably more variation was found in intervocalic position, because of the few occurrences of //ʌ/ in other environments, there was no statistically significant difference between the environments.

Overall //ʌ/ was lowered more frequently than it was backed and rounded; however, the choice of variant is related, to some degree, to the spelling, as shown in Table 4-11.

TABLE 4-11
SPELLING OF //ʌ/ VARIANTS

Grapheme	<u>u</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ou</u>
Variant			
[a]_[ɔ]:	51.28% (20/39)	38.46% (15/39)	10.26% (4/39)
[o]_[ɔ]:	13.64% (3/22)	77.27% (17/22)	9.09% (2/22)

Although the [a]_[ɔ] range of variants occurred most often, e.g., funny [fani], the [o]_[ɔ] variants were statistically more prevalent ($p=.0036$) when //ʌ/ was represented by the letter o, e.g., son [son]. In Spanish the letter o is pronounced [o] in open syllables and by a more open variant in closed syllables. This Spanish-influenced spelling pronunciation resulted in the preference for the rounded variants when the spelling was o.

It is interesting that, while the subjects showed Spanish influence in their pronunciation of //ʌ/ in content words, when //ʌ/ occurred in functors, only four of the subjects substituted other segments and each subject did so only once. Likewise, the speakers rarely displayed

variation with the reduced vowel, [ə], which is similar in point of articulation to [ʌ].

The only other vowels which exhibited variation for more than two subjects were those listed in Table 4-12. Variation occurred only in interconsonantal position.

TABLE 4-12
INTERCONSONANTAL /I/, /a/, /E/ VARIATION
IN CONTENT WORDS

(5 subjects)	(5 subjects)	(4 subjects)
/I/ C__C	/a/ C__C	/E/ C__C
3.27% (10/306)	5.32% (5/94)	4.07% (5/123)
[i]--7	[ae]--2	[ae]--2
[E]--2	[o]--1	[e]--2
[ə]--1	[ʌ]--1	[ʌ]--1
	[aw]--1	

Although several of the variants show Spanish influence, there are others that appear to represent hypercorrection or substitution within the English vowel system rather than Spanish transfer. For /I/ the variant /i/ is an expected substitution for a Spanish speaker; however, [E] and [ə] are not. The vowel /a/ usually does not undergo variation by Spanish-influenced speakers, except for a slight fronting. Its realization as [ae] or [ʌ] appears to be the result of hypercorrection. Likewise, only [e] is an expected variant of /E/ for Spanish speakers. The occurrence of [ae] and [ʌ] is not attributable to Spanish influence.

4.3 Deletion of Segments

In addition to the substitution of segments, variation involved the weakening or deletion of word-final segments. This occurred to both single segments in postvocalic position and to segments in word-final clusters.

4.3.1 Sources of Segment Deletion

Word-final weakening and deletion could result from Spanish influence, since few consonants are tolerated in this environment in Spanish. Even the permissible word-final consonant segments are often deleted in Cuban Spanish, as mentioned in Chapter Three. Further, consonant clusters never occur in word-final position in Spanish.

However, word-final weakening and deletion also occur in non-Hispanic varieties of English, including as Black English. Wolfram (1973:128) found the same pattern of deletion, though to a lesser extent, for /d/ in Black English as in Puerto Rican English. Whereas in prevocalic position the Puerto Rican subjects had a group score percentage of 18.4% for deletion in stressed prevocalic position and a 34.0% rate of deletion in unstressed prevocalic position, the Black subjects had 10.3% and 20.8% respectively. Likewise, the Puerto Rican subjects deleted /d/ 50.9% of the time in stressed position when a nonvocalic environment followed and 71.1% in unstressed position preceding a nonvocalic environment. The Black subjects deleted /d/ in 35.2% and 48.1% of the occurrences respectively.

As Wolfram's (1973) data illustrate, word-final clusters are more likely to show simplification when not preceding a vowel. Kiparsky (1971) pointed out that it is a universal tendency for consonants to be better tolerated in word-final prevocalic position than in other

word-final environments. Further, Jakobson (1968) claimed that the CV syllable was preferred both universally and in first language acquisition. Bell and Hooper (1978:9) noted that 10% to 25% of the world's languages do not have word-final consonants and "less than half, perhaps as few as one-quarter have final clusters." Therefore, word-final segment deletion cannot be attributed solely to Spanish interference.

4.3.2 Environments Promoting Word-final Segment Deletion

Word-final, postvocalic segment deletion has been noted previously in the present work for several of the phonemes that also showed variant substitution in the English of the Cuban-American subjects. Other phonemes varied primarily by reduction and deletion. For two segments this variation occurred with some degree of frequency in the speech of a substantial number of subjects, as shown in Table 4-13.

TABLE 4-13
WORD-FINAL, POSTVOCALIC WEAKENING AND
DELETION IN CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH

Phoneme	Most Common Variants	Group Mean Percentage of Variation	Number of Subjects with Variation
/t/	∅	2.92%	27
/d/	[d], ∅	3.30%	14

Unlike segment substitution, deletion occurred with phonemes that are relatively unmarked. The segment /d/ is the only oral stop phoneme permitted in word-final position in Spanish; however, word-final /d/ is always spirantized, and often deleted in Cuban Spanish.

Of the two single segments that exhibited weakening and deletion by a considerable number of the subjects, /t/ exhibited variation in the English of more subjects, as shown in Table 4-13. Table 4-14 gives the distribution of this variation.

TABLE 4-14
WORD-FINAL /t/ VARIATION
(27 SUBJECTS)

V __ #V	V __ #C	V __ ##
.88% (10/1139)	3.67% (81/2207)	2.62% (38/1452)
[?]-4	[?]-10	[?]-12
ø--6	ø--70	ø--26
	[^t]-1	

Predictably, there was a significantly greater frequency of weakening and deletion before consonants ($p=.0001$) or phrase boundaries ($p=.0006$), than before vowels.

Although /t/ deletion affected nearly all of the subjects, it is likely that a similar level of deletion would be found in the casual speech of those who speak the educated norm. The glottal stop variant is, in fact, quite common in many American English dialects. Wolfram (1973:115) included the glottal stop variant with the standard variant in his study.⁹

The other segment showing weakening and deletion for several subjects was /d/. While deletion of /d/ occurred in the speech of fewer subjects than did /t/, the frequency of variation was slightly higher, as Table 4-13 indicates. The environments promoting weakening and deletion are given in Table 4-15.

TABLE 4-15
WORD-FINAL /d/ VARIATION
(14 SUBJECTS)

V__#V	V__#C	V__##
3.20% (4/125)	4.73% (13/275)	7.83% (13/166)
[ð]--1	[ð]--0	[ð]--7
ø--3	ø--9	ø--3
	[?]--4	[?]--2
		[ʒ]--1

Although there appears to be some difference between the degree of prevocalic and phrase-final variation, this difference did not prove statistically significant. Likewise, no significant difference existed between prevocalic and preconsonantal position.

The data for single segment deletion indicate that word-final weakening and deletion of postvocalic segments was very low in the English of second-generation Cuban-Americans in Little Havana. Even those segments most affected exhibited a very low frequency of variation.

4.3.2 Environments Promoting Cluster Simplification

Since Spanish does not tolerate any word-final clusters, a higher percentage of segment deletion would be expected for clusters than for postvocalic segments in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Table 4-16 proves this to be the case.

TABLE 4-16
WORD-FINAL CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION
IN CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH

Phoneme Cluster	Most Common Variant	Group Mean Percentage of Variation	Number of Subjects with Variation
/st/	[s]	16.75%	25
/nd/	[n]	12.74%	19
/ts/	[s]	7.18%	17
/nt/	[n]	5.22%	10
/ks/	[k]	6.35%	10

The segments that deleted in clusters were primarily those that deleted with some frequency as single segments: /t/ and /d/. These were deleted most frequently in clusters with other alveolar segments. The other segment to delete was /s/. The morphological function of these segments will be discussed in Chapter Five.

As with single segments, it is likely that much of the weakening and deletion in the following discussion also takes place in the casual speech of monolingual speakers of all varieties of American English.

The deletion affecting the most subjects involved the cluster /st/, as Table 4-16 illustrates. In analyzing /st/ variation, the word just was excluded because of its frequent occurrence in the data in unstressed position. In this environment it was pronounced [jɪs], a pronunciation regularly found among many monolingual speakers of English. Since the present study wished to examine variation from the educated norm, it was felt that including high frequency unstressed forms that regularly

undergo reduction in the English of most speakers would misrepresent the nature of the variation.

Of the clusters in Table 4-16, /st/ also had the highest mean percentage of variation. The distribution for /st/ variation is given in Table 4-17.

TABLE 4-17
WORD-FINAL /st/ VARIATION
(25 SUBJECTS)

V __ #V	V __ #C	V __ ##
10.58% (11/104)	23.28% (44/189)	15.63% (15/96)
[s]--11	[s]--42	[s]--15
	[z]--1	
	[h]--1	

Table 4-17 shows that /t/ weakened or deleted in the cluster /st/ with greater statistical frequency when preceding a consonant than a vowel ($p=.0049$). Though there was also a difference between prevocalic and prepausal position, this difference did not reach a statistically significant level.

It is not surprising that in preconsonantal position there is considerable deletion, since the cluster is enlarged to three or even more segments, an environment highly conducive to deletion. However, the prepausal environment would be expected to have a similar effect. Yet, this environment was less conducive to simplification of /st/ clusters in the present study than was the preconsonantal environment.

In addition to the deletion of /t/, in two instances the /s/ was affected as well. While both [h] and [z] may be variants of /s/ in

Spanish, the [z] did not occur in an environment that would promote this variant. Instead, [z] appears to be the result of intervocalic voicing in very casual speech.

The next most widely occurring cluster simplification among the subjects was /nd/. In the tabulation of /nd/ the word and was excluded for the same reasons that were given in the exclusion of just. The frequency of /nd/ deletion is given in Table 4-18.

TABLE 4-18
WORD-FINAL /nd/ VARIATION
(19 SUBJECTS)

V __ #V	V __ #C	V __ ##
10.47% (9/86)	15.89% (17/107)	34.75% (25/72)
[n]--7	[n]--16	[n]--24
[~]--1	[n [?]]--1	[~]--1
[~ [?]]--1		

In the case of /nd/ variation there was no significant difference between prevocalic and preconsonantal weakening and deletion of /d/. In fact, there was greater variation in prevocalic position. In contrast, phrase-final position was significantly more conducive to variation than prevocalic ($p=.0002$) or preconsonantal ($p=.0033$) position.

In addition to deletion of /d/, the variants included a glottal stop, as well as loss of /n/ with nasalization of the preceding vowel. While the deletion of /n/ with nasalization on the preceding vowel is a variant of /n/ in Cuban Spanish, the glottal stop is not a variant of /d/. However, [ʔ] is found as a variant of /d/ in the English of monolingual speakers.

Another cluster exhibiting variation was /ts/, which in all instances contained a morpheme boundary. The vast majority of occurrences involved the contraction of is. Table 4-19 illustrates this variation.

TABLE 4-19
WORD-FINAL /ts/ VARIATION
(17 SUBJECTS)

V__#V	V__#C	V__##
12.17% (14/115)	8.52% (19/223)	11.58% (11/95)
[s]--14	[s]--15	[s]--8
	[t]--1	[t]--3
	[z]--3	

Unlike the previous clusters, there was no statistically significant difference between any of the environments. In fact the greatest variation occurred in prevocalic variation. This lack of environmental conditioning is no doubt due in part to the fact that it was not the last segment that usually deleted. Instead the /t/ in it's and that's was the most frequently deleted segment. These appear to represent casual speech alternate forms of [Its] and [daets] respectively, which are not dependent on the surrounding linguistic environment. Again, these forms are found in the casual speech of many monolingual speakers of the educated norm.

The variant form [z] in Table 4-19 occurred, in all three instances, before a voiced consonant and may represent assimilation in voicing to this consonant. While this process could reflect /s/ voicing

assimilation in Spanish, it is also found in the casual speech of monolingual English speakers. It is also possible that in one instance this form represented the verb is without the pronominal subject it.

The next cluster under discussion is /nt/. Again, high frequency vocabulary items that are regularly pronounced with cluster simplification were not included in the tabulation. It was decided to count only monomorphemic /nt/ and exclude the contraction of not, since in casual speech it is often simplified to [n] or a flapped alveolar nasal in many varieties of English, including the educated norm. Also, the expression want to + verb was excluded, since it is pronounced [wənə] by many speakers. At that, the remaining items with /nt/ are no doubt regularly reduced in the speech of many monolingual speakers of English in casual speech. The distribution of /nt/ simplification is given in Table 4-20.

TABLE 4-20
WORD-FINAL /nt/ VARIATION
(10 SUBJECTS)

V__#V	V__#C	V__##
5.56% (1/18)	5.58% (4/73)	25.00% (9/36)
[n]--1	[n]--4	[n]--5
		[n ^t]--1
		[n ²]--2
		[n̠]--1

While there was no difference between prevocalic and preconsonantal environments, prepausal position was significantly more conducive to variation ($p=.0051$) than preconsonantal position. The difference between

prepausal and prevocalic position approached but did not reach a statistically significant level.

Unlike the previous clusters, the last cluster under discussion, /ks/, does not involve an alveolar oral stop.

TABLE 4-21
WORD-FINAL /ks/ VARIATION
(10 SUBJECTS)

V__#V	V__#C	V__##
16.00% (4/25)	10.53% (2/19)	23.81% (5/21)
[k]--2	[k]--2	[k]--3
[k ^s]--1		[^k s]--1
[h]--1		[^s]--1

The difference between the environments was not statistically significant. This may be due in part to the low number of occurrences.

In most instances, /s/ was weakened or deleted. However, in three occurrences the /k/ was weakened or deleted. This deletion would be the simplification expected for Spanish speakers, since /s/ not /k/ is permitted in word-final position.

While the variation in word-final clusters in the English of the Cuban-American subjects was greater than for single segments, it was nevertheless quite low. Further, the simplification did not on all occasions follow that anticipated for Spanish speakers. Though there was a tendency for greater deletion in preconsonantal or prepausal position, this likewise was not always the case. The low number of examples may be one reason that this distribution did not always occur. However, for /ts/ simplification, another explanation exists.

In addition to word-final cluster simplification, there was one medial cluster simplification that occurred for several speakers: /ks/. This was the only cluster that exhibited variation within a word in the speech of more than one or two subjects. The variation for medial /ks/ is given in Table 4-22.

TABLE 4-22
MEDIAL /ks/ VARIATION
(5 SUBJECTS)

V __ V
47.83% (11/23)
[s]--9
[^k]--1
[z]--1

Unlike word-final /ks/, which usually deleted the /s/, the medial simplification deleted the /k/ in all but one occurrence. Since Spanish regularly simplifies the /ks/ cluster, which is one of the few syllable-final clusters found in the language, by deleting the /k/, this influence may have been applied to English as well. In six cases the deletion involved the word accent, a cognate of the Spanish word accento, which is regularly pronounced [asento] in the Caribbean. It is likely that Spanish influenced the pronunciation of the English cognate.

4.4 Phonological Comparison with Other Varieties of Hispanic English

The variation in Cuban-American English appears to be of a lower level than that found in other Hispanic dialects. However, it is difficult to compare the variation in the U.S. varieties of Hispanic English for several reasons. The data are often gathered by different

means from subjects of different ages, organized differently, and often not analyzed quantitatively. Nevertheless, some general observations can be made.

For the most part the variation in the English of the Cuban-American subjects was similar to that found in other varieties of Hispanic English. The difference was in the degree of variation.

For substitutions, there exist some quantitative data on /ə/, /θ/, and /ʌ/ in other varieties of Hispanic English. These data and those on deletion of segments will be compared to the variation in Cuban-American English.

In the present study most replacements of /ə/ were sporadic and represented only a 3.10% group mean percentage, and only a group score percentage of .99% to 6.47% for those subjects exhibiting variation. In contrast, Hartford's (1972:107) Chicano subjects, who were all of the second generation and similar in age to the Cuban-American subjects, produced an overall group score percentage of variation as high as 73% in some environments and consistently over 20% for all environments.¹⁰

In Black and New York dialects of English, /ə/ is likewise realized as [d] or [ʔ^d] at higher frequencies than occurred in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Both Wolfram (1969) for Black English and Labov (1966) for New York English, as well as numerous additional studies, have found much higher percentages of /ə/ realized as [d] than occurred in the present data.

Unlike some U.S. Hispanic varieties of English, neither Black English nor Northeastern regional dialects of English significantly influenced the English of the Cuban-Americans. Although there is minimal contact between Blacks and Hispanics in Miami, Little Havana does adjoin

Black neighborhoods and there is a small Black population (3.27%) at Miami Senior High. Further, the city of Miami has a Black population of 82,098 persons, 23.67% of the population.¹¹

Northeastern English dialects, including those of New York and New Jersey, are also prevalent in Miami. In 1980, the U.S census found that only 406,556 of the 1,625,781 persons residing in Dade County were born in Florida. Of the remaining residents born in the U.S., the largest number, 293,197 persons, came from the Northeast area of the United States.¹²

Further, many Cuban-Americans spent some time in the New York area before resettling in Miami. Clark (1975:128-129) stated that in 1972, 27.4% of the Cuban population in Miami had lived in other parts of the U.S. The New York-New Jersey area accounted for 44.0% of those Cuban refugees resettled outside of Florida who later returned to Miami.

Yet, the variants associated with Northeastern dialects, as well as those found in Black English, did not occur at significant levels in the English of the Cuban-Americans. In fact, these variants occurred at lower frequencies than some others not found in social and/or regional dialects. This suggests that there was little influence from these varieties of English on the English of the Cuban-Americans. Wolfram (1973) found that a social dialect reinforced Spanish-influenced variation, causing higher frequencies. In his study, the Puerto Ricans who associated with speakers of Black English had higher frequencies of variation for /d/, and /θ/ than did either the Puerto Ricans without Black contacts or the Black English speakers. The only variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans that could result from these other

dialects, or from Southern English, was a tendency of some speakers to weaken or delete syllable final /ɹ/.

As with /ə/, the frequency of /θ/ variation was considerably lower than that shown for either other Hispanic English speakers or speakers of Black English. The Cuban-American speakers had a group mean percentage of variation of only 1.59%. In contrast, Wolfram (1973:87) reported a group score percentage of 61.9% frequency of variation for /θ/ in word-final position for his Puerto Rican subjects and an 83.7% frequency for his Black English subjects, the most common variant for both groups being [f]. These frequencies are even more impressive when it is noted that Wolfram (1973) excluded the variant [t^hθ] from these percentages.

Hartford (1975:112) found that in word-initial position her subjects realized /θ/ as [t^hθ] or [t] with a group score percentage of from 23% to 48%, depending on the environment. Phrase-initial position caused the greatest variation for Hartford's (1975) subjects, while post-vocalic position caused the least. This too contrasts with the data in the present study.

One of the most noticeable differences in Cuban-American English variation and that of other Hispanic varieties is undoubtedly the low degree of vowel substitutions, in particular for /i/ and /I/. Though this variation is often cited, there is a lack of quantitative data for neutralization of the tense and lax pairs of nonlow vowels. Hartford's (1975) work was the only other study to note the absence of this variation. As was noted in Chapter Three, this neutralization of tense and lax vowels appears to be dependent on vowel length. Unlike the speakers of other varieties of Hispanic English, the Cuban-Americans

produced a difference in vowel length for almost all occasions of tense and lax vowels.

The Cuban-Americans likewise did not exhibit variation in the glide segments. In contrast, both Hartford's (1975) Chicano subjects and Ma and Herasimchuk's (1971) Puerto Rican subjects produced higher, tenser glides similar to the Spanish rather than the English variant.

Different degrees of variation also were found for the one vowel that did show variation in Cuban-American English. As was noted in Chapter Three, Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) and Hartford (1975) found more occurrences of //∕/ neutralization with /ɔ/ than with /ɑ/. The present study showed the reverse for the Cuban-American subjects. Further, while [∕] dominated in both of these studies, variation was greater than in the present study, in which there was only a 5.73% group mean percentage of //∕/ variation, and this only for content words. Hartford (1975:215) found a group score percentage of 20% //∕/ variation, while in Ma and Herasimchuk's (1971:406) data the group score percentage of variation ranged from 30% to 50%, with greater variation in the reading styles.

The greater variation in reading styles suggests that spelling pronunciations may have been related to //∕/ variation in Ma and Herasimchuk's (1971) data. However, this was not discussed in their work. Hartford (1975) claimed that spelling did not influence the //∕/ variation in her data.

A different degree of variation between Cuban-American English and other varieties of Hispanic English was also found in deletion of segments. Even including the glottal variant as standard, Wolfram (1973:124) reported a much higher rate of variation for /t/ in Puerto

Rican English than occurred for the Cuban-Americans. The Cuban-Americans had a group mean percentage of 2.92% for /t/ variation, which included weakening as well as deletion. In Wolfram's (1973) data the group score percentage of deletion ranged from 10.7% in prevocalic position to 35.5% in nonprevocalic position. Even when just those Cuban-Americans showing variation were included, the present study showed a group score percentage of only .88% to 3.67%, including weakened segments.

Likewise, as noted previously, the Puerto Rican deletion of /d/ was greater than in Cuban-American English. For his Puerto Rican subjects, Wolfram (1973:117) found a 20.6% group score percentage of deletion in prevocalic position and a 57.9% of deletion in nonprevocalic position. Hartford's (1972:163) Chicano subjects weakened or deleted word-final /d/ in group score percentages of 24.1% to 50.3% of the occurrences in preconsonantal position. In contrast, the Cuban-Americans exhibited only a 3.30% group mean percentage of variation for /d/. Again, even when only those showing variation were included, the group score percentage was low, ranging from 3.20% to 7.83% for weakened and deleted variant forms.

Word-final clusters in other Hispanic varieties of English likewise were simplified more frequently than in Cuban-American English. However, since the present study discarded high count vocabulary items that regularly reduce in all varieties of English, an accurate comparison is not possible for /st/, and /nd/. Nevertheless, some observations can be made concerning these clusters.

Excluding the item just, /st/ simplification occurred with a group mean percentage of 16.75% for the Cuban-Americans. Ma and Herasimchuk (1971:423) found close to a 75% group score percentage of simplification

for /st/_ /zd/ clusters for their Puerto Rican subjects. Even if just were included in the present data, it is doubtful the percentage of variation would reach this high a level. Further, there was no significant variation of /zd/ clusters in the English of the Cuban-Americans.

In Hartford's (1975:119) study, word-final clusters in general simplified from 51.7% to 87.6%, using a group score percentage, depending on the environment. However, Hartford (1975) included only monomorphemic clusters in her study.

Excluding and for the Cuban-American variation, the group mean percentage of /nd/ variation was 12.74%, which included weakening as well as deletion. Using a group score percentage, Hartford (1975:122) found that /d/ was deleted from the /nd/ cluster in 60.8% to 92.7% of the occurrences in the speech of her Chicano subjects. Again, even including and in the present data, it is unlikely that the variation would reach the same high rate of deletion as that found in Hartford's (1975) data.

Finally, Ma and Hersimchuk (1971:420) showed considerable simplification of /ts/_/dz/, which usually affected the second segment for both is contraction and third-person singular markers. The percentage of /ts/ and /dz/ simplification in Ma and Herasimchuk's (1971:423) study ranged from a group score percentage of roughly 20% in reading or reciting lists to 45% in reading or producing continuous text. Once again, the Cuban-American rate of variation was considerably lower, with a group mean percentage for /ts/ simplification of 7.18%. For those subjects showing variation, the group score ranged from 8.52% to 12.17% simplification. There was no comparable level of /dz/ simplification at all in the present study.

Perhaps one exception to the lower rate of variation in Cuban-American English was found in the variation that occurred for /j/, which exhibited greater segment substitution than any other phoneme except /ɛ/. In fact, the variation of /ɛ/ and /j/ were significantly correlated. This will be dealt with at greater length in Chapter Six. Although /j/ is not dealt with quantitatively in studies on other Hispanic varieties of English, it is mentioned less in the literature than several variant forms that did not occur with any frequency in the Cuban-American English.

With this one possible exception, variation in Cuban-American English was considerably lower than that reported elsewhere for varieties of U.S. Hispanic English. In both substitutions and deletions, the Cuban-Americans exhibited very low frequencies of variation. There was almost no variation in stress placement as well. Overall the phonology of Cuban-American English more closely resembles the educated norm than does that of roughly comparable studies on Chicano or Puerto Rican English.

4.5 Summary

While some degree of phonological variation was found in the English pronunciation of the Cuban-American second generation in Little Havana, this variation was low frequency, particularly in comparison to that found in the studies on Chicano and Puerto Rican English discussed in Chapter Three.

The consonants that were affected most by the substitution of variant forms were those that contrast phonetically in Spanish; however, this was not the case for vowel substitutions. The segments that exhibited variation are more marked universally and acquired later in first language development, varying by a feature acquired late. In

particular, the palatoalveolar affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, and the lower-mid central vowel, /ʌ/, were subject to variation. However, even these segments showed a comparatively low level of variation overall.

While the kind of variation found in Cuban-American English exhibited Spanish influence both in the choice of variant and, to an extent, the environments in which variation occurred, L1 developmental language, including universal tendencies, appeared to be the primary source for the degree of variation.

Spanish influence was also one possible source for the deletion of segments. However, the frequency of deletion was far below that reported for other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English or for dialects such as Black English and was quite possibly comparable to the frequency of deletion found in the casual speech of those who speak an educated norm. As expected, consonants within clusters exhibited a greater frequency of deletion than did simple consonants.

This study, then, supports Duncan's (1983) work which found Cuban-American speakers of English to have considerably less phonological variation overall than did other Hispanic speakers of English. It also supports her findings that phonological variation is related to L1 acquisition stages. Likewise, as Zobl (1980a) suggested, this study found that fossilization results from L1 developmental language reinforced by language transfer. Finally, the present study provides evidence, as Gass and Ard (1980) claimed, of influence from universal tendencies in the variation which has fossilized in the second language.

In spite of the overall low level of phonological variation in the English of the Cuban-American second generation living in the ethnic community, there was a considerable range among individual speakers.

While the majority of the Cuban-Americans exhibited little fossilization in their English, some speakers produced variant forms in the majority of occurrences for specific phonemes. This individual variation is discussed in Chapter Six.

The next chapter, Chapter Five, examines morphological, syntactic, and semantic variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans.

Notes

¹All of the data in Chapter Four are from the informal interviews. Phonological variation was not measured in the reading passage or Bilingual Syntax Measure. Further, as was noted in Chapter One, this study uses a group mean rather than a group score percentage. The group mean percentage was arrived at by taking the mean percentage of variation for each of the thirty-three subjects and averaging these percentages. In this way each of the subjects was represented equally. In a group score percentage those who participate more, the more fluent speakers, are over-represented, while those with less participation are under-represented. The variants are those discussed in Chapter Three. A raised letter represents a weakened variety of that segment.

²Robert Hammond, personal communication.

³Although the Spanish dental [ð] and the English interdental [ð] are not identical in place of articulation, the two segments are similar acoustically and articulatorily. Therefore, the alternation of [d] and [ð] parallels that of [d] and [ð].

⁴The segment /ɟ/ was not included for the Irwin study so it is not known where this segment would be placed in that hierarchy.

⁵Because of the infrequent occurrence of the voiced palatoalveolar fricative, /ʒ/, this segment was excluded from consideration in the present study.

⁶The segment /v/ would also be expected to exhibit variation, since it is acquired later and differs from /b/ in continuancy. Since in Spanish, /b/ is realized as [β] after continuant segments, Spanish speakers frequently realize /v/ as the Spanish variants [β] or [b]. To an extent this was also the case in the present study. The phoneme /v/ was the next most frequently varying segment after those in Table 4-1, with a .99% group mean variation. Six subjects replaced [v] with Spanish variants. Just as with the other consonant alternations, /v/ exhibited a greater degree of variation than did its less marked, earlier acquired counterpart, /b/.

⁷In this study the significance level of $\alpha = .05$ was used to reject the null hypothesis.

⁸For the data in this study, a prevocalic environment includes off-glides and /ɹ/. However, these segments were treated as consonants when they preceded a vowel.

⁹While [ʔ] may be a variant of /t/, as well as /d/ and other consonants, in the casual speech of educated-English speakers, it was decided to include this segment as a variant form for two reasons. First, the glottal stop is a Spanish variant of several syllable-final obstruents. Second, it represents a reduced form of the segment, relating this variation to deletion of the segment. Because of an absence of research on reduction and deletion in casual educated English, these variants were considered as varying from the educated norm, except

in the case of high count vocabulary items which regularly reduce in all varieties of English.

¹⁰ Although the group mean percentage and the group score percentage interpret a set of data in two different ways, when there is a large corpus of data, these two percentages should be very similar.

¹¹ This statistic is from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982a:149). Although there are no statistics available for the non-Hispanic Black population of Little Havana, because of the large Hispanic population in this area, the Black population would necessarily be considerably smaller proportionately than for Miami as a whole.

¹² These statistics are from the United States Bureau of the Census (1982a:687).

CHAPTER FIVE
CUBAN-AMERICAN ENGLISH
MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND SEMANTICS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Three noted that, for Chicano English, morphological, syntactic, and semantic variation was less significant than phonological variation. Given the low frequency of phonological variation for the Cuban-American speakers of English described in Chapter Four, the nonphonological variation would be expected to be insignificant. This proved, however, not to be entirely the case.

As with phonological variation, the variation for specific linguistic aspects of Cuban-American morphology, syntax, and semantics was generally sporadic, often representing only one or two speakers, and then frequently only a small percentage of their total speech production. Nevertheless, variation was found in many areas of the nonphonological linguistic elements. Further, just as the same subjects often produced variation for several phonemes, so also did these same subjects vary in their morphological, syntactic, and semantic production. When this variation is considered in conjunction with the phonological variation discussed in Chapter Four, the overall variation, though often nonsystematic, serves to identify the subject as a speaker of Hispanic English.

The present chapter analyzes variation found in the morphological, syntactic, and semantic components of the reading, controlled answer, and

free-conversation English produced by the Cuban-American subjects in this study. The sources of this variation are likewise explored. Finally, this variation is compared to that found in other Hispanic dialects of English.

5.2 Morphology

Morphological variation is usually less subject to first language interference than are other aspects of a language. Variation in bound morphology would be expected to show little influence from language transfer and instead to be concerned primarily with simplification of this morphological system. Though very low frequency, this was the general trend in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Further, like the phonological variation, the morphological variation was generally less frequent than that reported for other Hispanic varieties of English. There were also, however, some instances of hypercorrection, similar to that found in the English of Chicano children.

5.2.1 Morphological Variation

Studies have shown that, in general, phonological variation occurs less frequently for those segments having a morphological function. As noted previously, Wolfram (1973) and others found less variation in bimorphemic segments than in their monomorphemic counterparts. However, in the English of the Cuban-Americans there were some exceptions to this distribution. For the phonological variation discussed in Chapter Four, as well as several additional segments and clusters, Table 5-1 gives the distribution of monomorphemic and bimorphemic variation in the English of those subjects exhibiting the particular type of variation.¹

TABLE 5-1
VARIATION IN BIMORPHEMIC
AND MONOMORPHEMIC SEGMENTS

Segments	Bimorphemic	Monomorphemic	Number of Subjects With Variation
/z/	3.14% (16/509)	1.00% (6/602)	13
/d/	3.38% (5/148)	5.98% (25/418)	14
/ks/	28.26% (13/46)	6.67% (1/15)	11
/st/	2.44% (1/41)	19.83% (69/348)	25
/nd/	6.90% (2/29)	20.76% (49/236)	19
/ld/	0.00% (0/4)	40.91% (9/22)	8
/kt/	0.00% (0/10)	40.91% (9/22)	6
/nθ/	78.57% (11/14)	0.00% (0/2)	6

Using a two-tailed Fisher's exact test, this study found /st/ ($p=.0041$) and /kt/ ($p=.0303$) to vary significantly more frequently when their function was monomorphemic.² Likewise, /nd/ indicated a trend in this direction ($p=.0833$). While /d/ and /kt/ exhibited a greater frequency of monomorphemic variation, this difference did not reach a significant level. The difference was too small for /d/ variation, and there were not enough occurrences of /kt/ in the data for a significant contrast, though a trend can be seen.

In contrast, three segments or clusters exhibited greater bimorphemic variation. For /z/, this variation was significantly greater ($p=.0156$), while for /nθ/ the variation approached but did not reach a significant level ($p=.0833$). There were too few occurrences of /ks/ in the data for a significant contrast; however, a trend towards greater bimorphemic variation is indicated.

The segment /z/ and the cluster /ks/ showed variation in the fricative, which primarily represented the third-person singular verb or the plural noun marker. This variation most often resulted in the weakening or deletion of the fricative segment. The third bimorphemic

form, /nθ/, showing greater variation than its monomorphemic counterpart likewise exhibited weakening or deletion of the fricative.

In examining postvocalic bimorphemic /z/ variation for the thirteen subjects showing /z/ variation, this study found a 4.81% (10/208) frequency of variation for noun plural markers, a 3.92% (4/102) frequency for third-person singular verb markers, and a 1.09% (2/183) rate of variation for the contracted auxiliary, while no variation (0/16) occurred for the possessive marker.

However, these figures are somewhat misleading. If the noun marker is further broken down, only four occurrences represented the simple /z/ plural and only two of these involved total deletion of the segment. Therefore, the rate of deletion for the simple plural marker was only 1.23% (2/163). In contrast, for the [ɪz] marker there was a 13.33% (6/45) frequency of variation. Further, for the subjects with /z/ variation there were three additional occurrences of total deletion of the [ɪz] marker without the vowel remaining. These were not included in the phonological count. Thus, the frequency of deletion for the [ɪz] plural marker was 6.25% (3/48) for the thirteen subjects.

A somewhat similar pattern emerged for the third-person verb endings. The simple [z] marker had a 3.26% (3/92) rate of variation for the thirteen speakers, only 2.17% (2/92) resulting in total deletion. In contrast, for the [ɪz] marker there was a 10% (1/10) frequency of variation. The thirteen speakers also deleted the entire [ɪz] marker in three additional instances, so that the rate of deletion for the [ɪz] verb marker was 23.08% (3/13).

As reported previously, variation, including deletion of the morphemic marker, was higher in clusters than in postvocalic word-final

position. For the eleven subjects with /ks/ cluster variation, there was a 30.77% (8/26) rate of variation of /s/ when it represented the third-person verb inflection and a 25% (5/20) frequency of variation when the marker indicated the noun plural. However, in all instances the verb marker was totally deleted, while only three of the five plural markers deleted, for a 15% (3/20) rate of deletion.

The remaining cluster showing greater variation in the bimorphemic than the monomorphemic cluster was /nθ/. In all of the eleven occurrences of variation, the final /θ/ represented the ordinal number marker, e.g., ninth. For seven of these the /θ/ was totally deleted, resulting in a 50% (7/14) deletion rate for the six subjects exhibiting /nθ/ variation.

Unlike the clusters in Table 5-1, the cluster /ts/ was always bimorphemic. Although the seventeen subjects with /ts/ variation had a 10.39% rate of variation, all but six of the variant forms involved the contracted copula and deletion of the /t/, therefore not affecting the morphemic marker. Of the remaining six forms, one also deleted the /t/, so that only five clusters exhibited variation in the suffix. Of these, four represented deletion of the verb marker, for a 9.09% (4/44) frequency of deletion among the seventeen subjects. There was only one variant form with a deleted noun plural, for a 2.78% (1/36) rate of deletion.

The variation for the segments in Table 5-1 reflects the overall variation for the morphological markers that are represented in this table. Thus, the greatest morphological variation occurred with the [tʒ] plural, the third-person singular, and the ordinal number markers.

In addition to these types of morphological variation, there were other, less frequent, examples of deleted markers as well as of

extraneous markers. Likewise, suppletive noun and verb forms also showed sporadic variation.

5.2.2 Sources of Morphological Variation

Like the phonological variation, to an extent the morphological variation appears to be related to developmental language. The bound morphemes showing the greatest variation were those acquired later in L1 and L2 language development.

However, one type of morphological variation, deletion of the ordinal marker, may be the result of Spanish transfer. It is not possible, however, to discuss the acquisition of the ordinal number marker, since it is rarely considered in morphological studies and has not been included in those hierarchies for orders of acquisition or difficulty.

For the thirty-three subjects, there were fifty-one occurrences of ordinal numbers, thirty-four of which were differentiated from the cardinal number only by the /θ/. The /θ/ was omitted on nine of these occasions. Further, one subject replaced fifth by five. In all cases the ordinal numbers were used for streets and dates, occasions when the cardinal number is used in Spanish.

However, the fact that the cardinal number was produced in 26.47% (9/34) of the occasions when deletion of /θ/ was involved but only in 5.88% (1/17) of the occurrences when a different lexical item would have to replace the ordinal number, e.g., third/three, suggests that the variation occurred primarily with those forms that closely resembled each other and may have had a phonological as well as a morphological source. As was noted in Chapter Four, /θ/ presented some phonological difficulty for the Cuban-Americans. This difficulty may have been

compounded when the segment occurred in word-final position following a consonant. While for the thirty-three subjects there was no phonological variation in monomorphemic /nθ/, for the six subjects exhibiting bimorphemic variation, there were only two occurrences of monomorphemic /nθ/. This is too small a sample to adequately rule out phonological influence as a significant factor in the /nθ/ variation.

The remaining bound morphological variation under discussion could also have phonological sources; however, the fact that the deletion was lower for monomorphemic forms indicates that the phonological influence was less significant than other factors.

The variation for several morphological markers has been documented in first and second child-language acquisition studies. The third-person marker has been described as being mastered later in first language acquisition by several authors. De Villiers and de Villiers (1973) compared Brown's rank-ordering of morpheme acquisition in a longitudinal study with two cross-sectional methods in their own study. Of the fourteen morphemes studied, the third-person marker was among the last five morphemes to be acquired in all three studies.

The third-person marker is also mastered late in second language acquisition. Dulay and Burt (1974), using three different methods to interpret their data from the Bilingual Syntax Measure, found that in all three methods the third-person marker was the morpheme showing the greatest variation.

The plural morpheme was acquired early in the three studies in de Villiers and de Villiers (1973). However, these studies did not separate the [ɪz] plural from the short plural. In other studies, the long plural marker was shown to be acquired late in first language

acquisition. Berko (1958) and Anisfield and Tucker (1967) found that the long plural caused more difficulty for their subjects than did the short form. In another study on the acquisition of morphological inflections produced by children four to ten, Bellamy and Bellamy (1970:211) claimed that "the /IZ/ allomorph never seems to have been mastered."

The long plural also caused difficulty in second language acquisition. Dulay and Burt (1974) showed this marker to be the next most difficult after the third-person marker.

The omission of the short plural and the third-person marker usually occurred when this marker was redundant. In nine of the seventeen short plural omissions, number was indicated elsewhere, e.g.:

Twenty block is two miles. (#23)

Of the remaining occurrences, four appeared to replace a count noun by a mass noun, e.g.:

My mother prepares a big meal which is the typical: pork, rice, bean, and yuca. (#21)

Redundancy was also a factor in the deletion of the verb marker. The deletion of the third-person marker most frequently occurred when the verbs were given in a series. Of the twenty deletions of the simple third-person marker, over half involved sequences of verbs. While the first verb was marked for third person, some of the subsequent markers were deleted, e.g.:

Then she waits for her ride, goes down, get on the ride, go to work, stay and work. (#24)

These deletions do not appear to be phonological, since the marker is retained in an environment conducive to deletion, C__#C, yet deleted in the environment V__#V, which is not conducive to deletion. Instead, they appear to represent optional deletion of the third-person marker

once the initial verb has been marked. Redundant /s/ markers are often deleted in Cuban Spanish. Variation of subsequent markers occurred four times, for a total of twelve deletions.

Although those morphemes showing variation were acquired late in first and second language acquisition, not all of the later acquired inflections varied in the speech of the Cuban-Americans. While both the [ɪz] plural and the third-person marker are acquired late, de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) found that, in the three studies they compared, the uncontracted and contracted auxiliary were acquired later. The uncontracted and contracted copula also were acquired later in one or more of the studies. These forms showed almost no variation for the speakers in the present study. In this, the variation more closely resembled a second language hierarchy of acquisition. Dulay and Burt (1974) found that the copula and auxiliary presented much less difficulty than the long plural or third-person marker for their subjects.

However, the possessive marker, which was acquired late in second language acquisition, likewise did not cause difficulty for the Cuban-Americans. Dulay and Burt (1974) showed this morpheme, along with the long plural and the third-person marker, to be among the three most difficult for the speakers in their study. For first language acquisition, de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) listed the possessive marker as acquired late in one of the methods of interpreting their data and intermediate in Brown's study and the other method of interpreting their data.

Although there were few occurrences of the possessive in the present study in comparison to the plural and third-person marker, in no instance in the entire corpus of data for the informal interviews was a

possessive marker deleted. This is in contrast to several deletions of the short plural marker, which is acquired relatively early in both first and second language acquisition.

The possessive marker has been shown to have multiple sources for its omission. In addition to language development, first language transfer has been cited as a source. Since Spanish has no similar marker, this has been taken as the reason for omitting the marker in English. Finally, social and regional varieties of English, including Black English, have also been noted for the omission of the possessive morpheme.³

As pointed out in Chapter Three, /s/ is frequently deleted in Cuban Spanish. Yet overall there was a relatively low level of /s/ and /z/ deletion in the English of the Cuban-Americans. This may represent a conscious effort on the subjects' part not to produce Hispanicized speech.

The avoidance of Hispanic influence could also be a factor reinforcing greater variation in the [ɪz] plural than in other morphological markers. In Spanish the noun plural is formed by adding /s/ after vowels and /es/ after consonants. English likewise adds an alveolar strident following a vowel. However, unlike Spanish, in general no vowel is inserted between the alveolar strident and a preceding consonant. The only exception to this is if the consonant itself is an alveolar or palatoalveolar strident, i.e. /s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/, in which case, like Spanish, a vowel intervenes. It is possible that the Cuban-Americans avoided this construction, since it resembles the plural marking of Spanish and the plural forms produced by Spanish speakers attempting to speak English.

A third area in which the Cuban-Americans had a lower than expected rate of deletion was for the past tense marker. There were only seven occasions in which the past tense marker was deleted. This marker caused a medium level of difficulty for both first and second language acquisition.

Therefore, while there was a general tendency for those morphemes acquired late in second language development to exhibit fossilization in the English of the Cuban-Americans, there were other possible factors, including hypercorrection and redundancy deletion, that could account for this variation. Further, the lack of variation in the possessive marker is counter to what would be expected for this form.

In the above instances, person, tense, or number were neutralized by the deletion of the marker. On other occasions this neutralization resulted from substitution of forms. Five subjects on a total of nine occasions replaced doesn't with don't, e.g.:

My dad don't like her to. (#23)

The affirmative form does was not, however, similarly replaced. The use of don't for doesn't is very common in many varieties of English.

On seven occasions is/was replaced are/were, while on two occasions the reverse occurred. Five of the nine substitutions appeared to be the result of identifying another part of the sentence as the subject, e.g.:

The most that came over here is the bad stuff. (#15)

In Spanish, agreement with the predicate rather than the subject can be found, particularly if the subject is separated from the verb as occurs in the above sentence.⁴

For three of the occurrences which substituted the singular verb, the construction there is/was replaced there are/were. While the use of

one form for both singular and plural parallels that of Spanish hay, the exclusive use of the singular form is also very common in many varieties of English.

Substitutions also occurred for the irregular past tense verbs. On five occasions the present tense form replaced the irregular past, e.g.:

Then she withdraw and came over here. (#24)

There were also eight examples of interchanging the modals in the pairs can/could and will/would. These substitutions are common in L1 developmental language.

In addition to the variation already discussed, there were instances in which the markers or suppletive forms were used extraneously. Twice the third-person marker was employed with other persons, and on three occasions the infinitive was marked for tense. There were also nine occurrences of the plural form replacing a singular noun and one occurrence of a plural marker on the suppletive plural, mens. Finally, on one occasion a verb was double marked for third-person, prepareses.

Most often these extraneous markers resembled L1 developmental language.⁵ However, on at least one occasion the source appeared to be Spanish transfer. One subject produced furnitures, causing the English noncount noun to parallel its countable Spanish equivalent, muebles.

As expected, there was almost no use of markers from the Spanish morphological system. The only one exception to this was the plural marking of one adjective, currents events.

5.2.3 Morphological Variation and Styles of Speech

A reading passage and the Bilingual Syntax Measure were included in the present study in order to compare morphophonemic variation in

relation to speech style. However, because the overall level of variation was generally low and often a result of the measurement itself, no quantitative comparison was possible among styles.

Nevertheless, several observations can be made about variation in the different styles. For the reading passage, only seven subjects showed any variation in the forms measured; five of these produced only one variant form. The sixth subject produced two variant forms, while the seventh, five.

Most of the variation appeared to be the result of the measurement itself. On two occasions when the environment was ambiguous, the subjects replaced the less expected form with a more common one. All but one of the subjects with variation produced "His favorite show ought to be about baseball," rather than "His favorite shows ought to be about baseball," the former being the more anticipated form. Likewise, two subjects replaced "But that's only Joe's," with "But that's only Joe," again the more expected form. When producing the possessive marker for the latter sentence, several subjects did so with a questioning look, indicating that they would have preferred the sentence without it. The other variant forms appeared to be the result of reading difficulties; The two subjects with more than one variant form often stumbled over the material.

There were several examples of extraneous markers for the reading passage. Four subjects read "His friends wants to be other things," while one read "major leaguess teams". Twelve replaced the "Dukes of Hazzard" with the "Dukes of Hazzards". Rather than L1 developmental language, the major cause of these extraneous markers was probably the frequent use of the plural, possessive, and third-person markers in the passage, which triggered additional use of these markers.

For the Bilingual Syntax Measurement there was somewhat more variation, since the material was less controlled. However, because of this, the forms to be measured were sometimes replaced by other forms not requiring the marker in question. There were only seven variant forms for the morphemes measured. Again, the majority appeared to be at least partially the result of the measurement rather than to accurately reflect the morphological variation. When asked, "What are these?" six of the thirty-three subjects gave the reply nose for noses. However, no subject produced the singular for sandwiches or houses. Unlike the pictures of the houses and sandwiches, the picture of the noses showed them distributed, one to a face. While the long plural was one of the most problematic morphemes in the informal interview, it is unusual that only one of the three lexical items with the long plural showed any variation. Therefore, at least some of the replies were undoubtedly reflecting the distribution in the picture rather than variation in the plural.

The remaining variant form represented an omission of the possessive marker. This is surprising given the total lack of possessive deletion in the informal interview. However, there was also a problem with the measurement in this case as well. In reply to the question "Tell me, whose mop is that?" the subject answered, "The man," pointing to his picture. It is possible that the subject's answer was only an attempt to identify the owner rather than specifically reply to the question.

If the scoring procedure had followed that recommended by the measurement, there would have also been variation noted in the use of the past participle marker. Nine of the thirty-three subjects had difficulty with the past conditional, replacing this form with the simple past or

other verb forms. By the method of evaluation recommended in the Bilingual Syntax Measure instructions, the substitutions for the past conditional constituted a failure to produce the past participle. However, the subjects had little difficulty producing other perfective constructions.

There were several additional occurrences of variant forms in the Bilingual Syntax Measure interview in addition to the markers originally measured. Two subjects replaced took with take; two, eaten with ate; and two, feet with feets. This variation is surprising, since in the entire free-conversation data there were only five substitutions for irregular past forms, one for an irregular past participle, and one addition of a plural inflection on an irregular plural. In no instance was the same subject responsible for this variation in both styles. One explanation for these variant forms is that, unlike the informal interview, the more structured measurement attempted to elicit problematic forms.

The only other area of variation in the Bilingual Syntax Measure concerned prepositions, which will be discussed later. Overall, the variation in the Bilingual Syntax Measure, as in the reading passage, appeared to be primarily the result of the measurement itself. For both of the controlled measurements, the morphological deletion was generally of a lower frequency than that encountered in comparable constructions in the informal interview. There were, however, proportionately more extraneous markers for the more structured measurements, particularly the reading passage, as well as greater variation in irregular forms.

5.2.4 Morphological Comparison with Other Varieties of Hispanic English

Like the Cuban-American phonological variation, the variation in the morphology was similar to that reported found in the English of the

other U.S. Hispanics, but of lower frequencies. Again, few of the studies on U.S. Hispanic English included quantitative data.

For his Puerto Rican subjects, Wolfram (1973:119) found a group score bimorphemic /d/ deletion rate of 17.1% to 74.1%, depending on the surrounding environment. Monomorphemic /d/ deleted from 18.6% to 70.3%. These rates are considerably higher than the group score of bimorphemic 3.38% and monomorphemic 5.58% in the English of only those Cuban-Americans exhibiting this variation. Wolfram's (1973) data do, nevertheless, show the same small contrast between monomorphemic and bimorphemic /d/ deletion. For one environment, bimorphemic /d/ deletion actually exceeded monomorphemic deletion in his data.

Conflicting accounts exist for variation of the possessive marker in Hispanic varieties of English. As section 5.2.2 stated, possessive marker deletion was almost nonexistent in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Studies on other varieties of Hispanic English have shown differing degrees of variation for the possessive marker. Natalacio and Williams (1971) noted less variation of the possessive than of the third-person singular or the noun plural marker. Politzer and Ramirez (1973) gave only two examples of possessive marker deletion in their study, while Cohen (1975) made no mention of the possessive marker in his study. However, Dulay and Burt's (1973) study, using Spanish children, found almost total omission of this marker.

Variation for the past tense marker also differed among Hispanic English speakers. Natalacio and Williams (1971) did not find this to be a major type of variation in their data. In contrast, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) found past tense marker deletion to be the most frequent

morphological variation for their subjects. However, as was noted in Chapter Three, the measurement contributed to this high occurrence.

For all studies the third-person marker exhibited frequent deletion. Burt and Dulay (1973) encountered almost total deletion of this marker. Likewise, the third-person marker showed the greatest variation in Natalacio and Williams' (1971) study, deleting in 80% of the occurrences. While in the present study this marker was one of the more frequent to be deleted, the overall rate of deletion could only be termed sporadic.

Although the present study exhibited very low frequencies of morphological variation in comparison to the other Hispanic varieties of English, it should be noted that all but Wolfram's (1973) study involved young children, so that some of the variation reported for these works is likely a temporary stage in first language acquisition.

5.3 Syntax

In contrast to morphological variation, a greater percentage of the syntactic variation would be expected to have first language transfer as a source. However, developmental language would also be expected to influence the syntactic variation. This proved to be the case for the English of the Cuban-Americans. Further, given the previous low frequency of variation for other linguistic areas, the syntactic variation would be expected to be lower than that found in other varieties of Hispanic English. This too generally proved to be the case.

5.3.1 Syntactic Variation

As with the Cuban-American English phonology and morphology, the frequency of syntactic variation was for the most part very low and represented only sporadic occurrences. The major areas of variation were

prepositions, particles in two-word verbs, pronouns, articles, object-adverb order, and negatives.

Of these, the variation for prepositions occurred most frequently. There were sixty substitutions of prepositions. These are given in Table 5-2.

TABLE 5-2
PREPOSITION SUBSTITUTIONS
IN THE INFORMAL INTERVIEW

Prepositions	Substitutions	Subjects	Total Number of Occurrences
on	in	#3(2), #5, #6, #7, #14	
		#21, #23, #26, #28	10
in	by	#25(3)	3
	at	#5, #14(2) #23	4
	on	#21(2), #25	3
	into	#21, #23	2
	with	#17, #23	2
to	of	#23	1
	in	#2, #3, #5, #9, #12	5
	for	#23	1
	into	#7	1
	of	#12	1
at	with	#5	1
	in	#2, #7, #17, #21, #24, #27	6
with	in	#9, #13, #18	3
	to	#23	1
about	for	#32	1
	of	#6	1
by	in	#18	1
	with	#15	1
during	in	#21(2)	2
for	from	#21	1
	of	#14	1
into	in	#21	1
	to	#33	1
of	at	#21	1
	on	#24	1
as	from	#4	1
because of	for	#23	1
from	off	#27	1
through	by	#5	1

As Table 5-2 shows, the most common substitutions involved the neutralization of in, on, and at, which accounted for over one-third of the variant prepositions. In sixteen of the twenty-three occurrences of this neutralization, in was substituted for on or at, e.g.:

I'm graduating in (on) June eighteenth. (#3)

Like in (at) Christmas you have to make a report. (#2)

Similar to the variation for prepositions in the informal interview, the interchanging of in, on and at was also found in the data from the Bilingual Syntax Measure interview. Several of the controlled answers elicited these prepositions. However, because there were alternate ways to answer the questions, the expected forms were not required in all the possible answers to any specific question. Overall, there were twenty-seven preposition substitutions in the Bilingual Syntax Measure interviews, as Table 5-3 illustrates.

TABLE 5-3
PREPOSITION SUBSTITUTIONS IN
THE BILINGUAL SYNTAX MEASURE

Prepositions	Substitutions	Subjects	Total Number of Occurrences
in	on	#5 (2), #14, #21	4
	at	#1	1
	inside	#12, #25	2
	to	#33	1
on	in	#14, #21, #26	3
at	in	#12 (3), #14, #21 (3), #25 (2)	9
	on	#5, #11, #21, #22 (2), #23,	
		#26, #31	8

In addition to substitutions, the free-conversation data contained four occasions in which the preposition was omitted and eleven occasions of an extraneous preposition, e.g.:

Anything that would be helpful, you know, would be good to volunteer [for], so . . . (#21)

Well, my dad could speak to you and you could understand with him. (#23).

In two of the occurrences of a missing preposition, changing the word order would remove the necessity of a preposition, e.g.:

Sometimes I talk to her [in] English. (Sometimes I talk English to her). (#3)

As with the prepositions, there were also instances of substitution and deletion for the preposition-like particle in two-word verbs. These were deleted on twelve occasions. Deletion occurred most frequently when no object followed the verb, e.g.:

Their parents are the same and they've gone through the same things that I've gone [through]. (#21)

On ten occasions a different particle was substituted, e.g.:

I got in the rapids, the rivers, in this little, this little float, and the air came off (out). (#14)

Another area of variation was the use of redundant pronouns. There were nineteen redundant subject pronouns, e.g.:

And then my mother she comes in with a lot of food. (#2)

On four occasions, the object pronoun was redundant, e.g.:

Did I take it the class today? (#5)

Other pronominal variation occurred less frequently. There were eight examples of omitted pronouns, e.g.:

I guess they put on more and [it] calls more of attention. (#21)

Variation also occurred in the form of the pronoun. There were six occasions of gender confusion, three of number confusion, and four of case confusion, e.g.:

She (he) met her. (#2)

Like some words I can't say it (them) in Spanish. (#28)

At least he doesn't show it to him(self). (#10)

Finally, on three occasions which was substituted for who, e.g.:

My uncle was here too which is my mother's brother.

The fourth area of variation concerned articles. There were seventeen occurrences of omitted a and nine of omitted the. Three times the replaced a, while on three occasions the was extraneous, e.g.:

She needs [a] special program. (#31)

Plan to go to [the] downtown college. (#23)

He put the (a) whole bunch of my names on it. (#2)

The only problem we had was the moneywise. (#16)

Object-adverb order was another source of variation. There were fourteen occurrences of juxtaposed objects and adverbs or adverbial phrases, e.g.:

We open that day the presents. (#23)

Finally, eleven subjects used double negatives, for a total of twenty-one occurrences, e.g.:

He doesn't do nothing. (#28)

In addition to the above variation, there were isolated occurrences of omitted verbs, number confusion in demonstratives, noncount modifiers used with count nouns, inappropriate tense, conjunction confusion, and reversal of word order for direct and indirect questions.

While no speaker produced more than a very few variant forms from any of the categories discussed in this section, several subjects exhibited this variation in multiple categories.

5.3.2 Sources of Syntactic Variation

As previously reported for phonological and morphological variation, the syntactic variation had more than one potential source. For his subjects, Cohen (1975) attributed variation in prepositions, pronouns, articles, adverbs, and negatives to both L1 developmental language and Spanish interference. In addition, he claimed that pronominal and negative variation was also the result of influence from what he termed "nonstandard dialects," that is, regional and social dialects. However, the only source he gave for variation with two-word verbs was Spanish interference.

For the substituted prepositions, Spanish interference appeared to be one source of variation for slightly more than half of the occurrences. Of the sixty substitutions, 51.67% (31/60) used prepositions that corresponded to the Spanish preposition for the same construction. However, in 48.33% (29/60) of the occurrences the prepositions did not correspond to the Spanish form. In fact, in some instances the use of the Spanish counterpart would have produced the expected form. Instead, another preposition was substituted.

As was noted previously, Spanish interference accounted for the substitution of in for on and at. In all these substitutions en would be the equivalent form. In Spanish, in and on are neutralized, both represented by en. For location, en is also the Spanish equivalent of at. As Andersen (1983) pointed out, it appears that en is most commonly rendered as in for at least two reasons. Kučera and Francis (1967) reported that in is used far more frequently in English than is on. Therefore, in is the form heard most frequently by the second language speaker. Second, there is a closer phonological similarity between en

and in than between en and on, the former pair employing front, non-low vowels.

For the Bilingual Syntax Measure, in was likewise a common substitution for other prepositions. However, on was also frequently substituted. The higher occurrence of on in the Bilingual Syntax Measure than in the informal interview was the result of on replacing at several times. In those instances where on instead of in replaced at, a more plausible answer resulted. For example, in reply to the question "Where is the king?" several subjects said, "On the table," instead of "In the table," even though "At the table," was the appropriate response. At that there were nine answers of "In the table," as opposed to only five of "On the table."

In both the informal interview and the Bilingual Syntax Measure interview, the use of at for in or on was possibly a hypercorrection. Since en is often translated as at not in or on for location, at was used with location even when in was the expected form, e.g., from the informal interview:

He's one of the supervisors of the docks here at Miami. (#5)
This form is also found in the English of some monolinguals.

In addition to Spanish influence, L1 developmental language has been cited as a source of variation in prepositions. Yet, substitution of prepositions occurs early in first language development. Menyuk (1971) found that omissions and substitutions declined radically in children between the ages of three and six and one-half and only redundancy in preposition usage increased. In the previous examples of variation in this study, it has been primarily those forms showing

variation in later stages of first language acquisition that have also exhibited variation in the speech of the Cuban-Americans.

As with the use of at for in, hypercorrection was a potential factor in several of the remaining preposition substitutions. By using these forms the speaker appeared to avoid the equivalent Spanish form, even when this form was the appropriate choice in English.

On other occasions in the informal interview it appeared that the subject confused two similar constructions in English, e.g.:

He only knows the words of medicines. (#14)

The subject could have said the names of medicines or the words for medicines. This same distribution also occurs for the Spanish equivalents, so transfer is not a source of this variation.

Of the twenty-nine preposition substitutions in the informal interview which did not have a source in Spanish transfer, 48.28% (14/29) appeared to be the result of confusing two similar forms in English, while 31.03% (9/29) were potentially hypercorrections. The remaining 20.69% (6/29) had no obvious explanation.

The four occurrences of omitted prepositions in the informal interview were potentially the result of Spanish transfer, since they would not have been used in the Spanish equivalent. However, in the eleven instances in which extraneous prepositions occurred, none could be attributed to a similar Spanish construction. As was mentioned previously, extraneous prepositions are characteristic of later stages in first language acquisition.

The variation in two-word verbs was similar to that found in the prepositions but with greater deletion than substitution. For the two-word verbs, there was no equivalent particle in the corresponding Spanish

form. As noted, Cohen (1975) considered variation in the two-word verb to be a result of Spanish interference. It is not characteristic of L1 developmental language. If the particle is interpreted as a preposition by the speakers, then the omission of the particle when no object follows complies with the Spanish constraint on prepositions without following objects.

However, since most languages do not have two-word verbs, the deletion of the particle could also be considered characteristic of L2 developmental language, resulting from a universal language tendency. When a different particle was substituted, the influence from Spanish is even less certain. While the absence of such a particle in Spanish could be a cause for confusion of the particle in English, this Spanish interference would not be direct, and could likewise be attributed to other sources.

Like much of the previous variation, the redundant pronouns have both Spanish and other potential sources. Since Spanish always marks the verb for person and number, the repetition of the pronoun after the noun could be interpreted as a comparable marking in English. However, these forms also appear with a degree of frequency in the speech of monolingual speakers. Cohen (1975) noted that this variation is found in regional and social dialects of English. It is likely that the degree and not the type of variation identifies subject pronoun redundancy with second language variation.

Omission of the subject pronoun has also been attributed to Spanish for the reason that number and gender are marked on the verb. However, there were only four occurrences of omitted subject pronouns, as compared to the nineteen occurrences of redundant subjects.

For the redundant and missing object pronouns no direct Spanish interference could be found. While Spanish does redundantly mark the indirect object noun with a pronoun, this redundancy does not occur for direct object nouns. All four examples of redundant object pronouns involved direct objects. Further, unlike the subject pronouns, the object pronouns in Spanish have no redundant marking on the verb and thus cannot be omitted. There were four omitted object pronouns in the informal interview data.

It could be argued that the low occurrence of redundancy and deletion of object pronouns is the result of lack of Spanish reinforcement. However, there was also a low frequency of deleted subject pronouns. Other factors in addition to Spanish influence must account for the higher incidence of redundant subject pronouns. It is possible that these pronouns occur more frequently than the other types of pronominal variation because this redundancy is less stigmatized in English speech and therefore less likely to be avoided than other Spanish-influenced forms. Not only are redundant subject pronouns found in social and regional varieties of English but they also are quite common in the topicalized sentences of all varieties of English.

The few occurrences of number and gender confusion likewise have several potential sources. Selinker (1972) claimed that the generalization of the male pronoun could be the result of transfer-of-training by which the male gender was over-emphasized in the teaching of the second language. However, this explanation is doubtful in the present situation, since the Cuban-Americans did not learn English in a predominantly classroom situation. Another argument against transfer-of-training as the source of gender confusion is that in the six

occurrences, only three involved the the substitution of male for female. On two other occasions subjects substituted female for male, while one replaced the indefinite referent by a neuter form.

A more feasible explanation for gender confusion is that in Spanish, as was noted previously, number and person are marked on the verb, so that pronouns, including those indicating gender, are often deleted. Therefore, when it is obligatory to include a subject pronoun, as it is in English, some confusion may result. Further, in Spanish the indirect object pronoun and the third-person possessive are not marked for gender.

For two of the three occurrences of number confusion, Spanish was not the direct source of influence, since the Spanish equivalent was identical in number to the English form. However, in the third occurrence, the Spanish equivalent did not distinguish number, which would thus promote ambiguity in English.

There were only four occurrences of case confusion, two of which replaced the reflexive with the object pronoun. These could not be the result of Spanish interference, since both involved third-person pronouns. Unlike first- and second-person reflexives in Spanish, the third-person reflexive and object pronouns are distinguished. On one occasion the reflexive was used when a nonreflexive object of the preposition was required. This did appear to be the result of Spanish interference, since the Spanish equivalent would use nuestros mismos which translates as ourselves. Finally, on one occasion the possessive adjective replaced the possessive pronoun. While the emphatic adjective and pronoun are the same in Spanish, another, more likely explanation is

phonological. Deleting the /z/ in most possessive pronouns, e.g., yours, results in the adjectival form.

The next area of variation concerned articles. As with the previous variation, both developmental language and Spanish transfer are possible sources. In two of the studies discussed in de Villiers and de Villiers (1973), articles were acquired eighth. In the third study they were acquired seventh. However, in Dulay and Burt's (1974) study on second language acquisition, articles presented little difficulty and were among the first forms to be acquired.

Cohen (1975) attributed the interchanging of definite and indefinite articles and the omission of articles to L1 developmental language but found the addition of the definite article to be Spanish interference.

In the present study, of the missing indefinite articles, 52.94% (9/17) corresponded to Spanish forms which omitted the articles, while the remaining 47.06% (8/17) did not. None of the nine missing definite articles could be attributed to Spanish interference.

The remaining variation in articles likewise resulted from more than one source. There were no extraneous indefinite articles and all three extraneous definite articles appeared to be influenced by the comparable Spanish construction. In three instances the definite article was substituted for the indefinite. Two of these could not be attributed to Spanish, while the third corresponded to a comparable Spanish construction. Therefore, roughly half of the variation in articles potentially involved Spanish transfer. However, in some instances this same variation also resembled L1 developmental language.

Like much of the previous variation, Cohen (1975) attributed the placement of adverbs to both L1 developmental language and Spanish influence. In the present study, all occurrences of adverb-object juxtaposition corresponded to a possible Spanish word order, in which adverbs frequently are placed between the verb and object. However, unlike Cohen's (1975) data, in the present study no occurrence corresponded to L1 developmental language. The adverb-object order does occasionally occur in the educated norm.

Finally, the last type of variation to be discussed, the use of double negatives, had several potential sources. In Spanish a double negative is required if the negative item occurs after the verb. Double negation is also characteristic of regional and social varieties of English and L1 developmental language.

From the discussion of syntactic variation it can be seen that while the influence of Spanish was greater on the syntax than on the morphology, the percentage of nontransfer variation was similar to the percentages of transfer in most instances. That the transfer should be greater for the syntax than the morphology is not surprising, since as has been noted previously, bound morphology is resistant to substitution.

Nevertheless, in only two of the occurrences of syntactic variation did the source seem to not be at least partially the result of L1 developmental language. These were object-adverb order and two-word verb particle deletion. Andersen (1983) likewise found that the order of adverb-object in the English of Hebrew speakers provided a possible counterexample to his revised TTS principle. Though these orders are attributable to the native language, Andersen (1983) offered one ad hoc explanation for adverb-object juxtaposition. He proposed that this order

is reinforced by the L1 developmental language acquisition stage in which the object is not expressed, so that the order is verb-adverb. While this proposal lacks empirical evidence, another explanation may be that the restricted use of the adverb-object order in monolingual English reinforces its use by Spanish speakers, in the same way as was suggested for their use of redundant subject pronouns.

Variation in two-word verbs also presents a possible counterexample to Andersen's (1983) TTS principle. However, the reason given for language transfer as the source of this variation is that in Spanish only one verb is used to express a comparable meaning. As mentioned previously, since most languages do not have two-word verbs, this influence shows a universal tendency, rather than a specific transfer of Spanish. More research is needed for both two-word verb variation and object-adverb juxtaposition, in order to establish if, in addition to first language transfer, L1 and/or L2 developmental language, including universal tendencies, are possible sources as well.

5.3.3 Syntactic Comparison with Other Varieties of Hispanic English

As before, variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans resembles that found in other varieties of Hispanic English. However, in almost all instances, a comparison could only be made with varieties of English spoken by Hispanic children. In spite of this, there were similarities in the variation. Though sporadically, many of the forms documented in Cohen's (1975) study also occurred in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Cohen (1975) attributed the majority of this variation to L1 developmental language; however, for the Cuban-Americans these forms had become fossilized in their mature language.

Like the present study, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) found prepositions to exhibit more frequent variation than other syntactic

forms. Cohen (1975) also found considerable variation in prepositions. However, while Cohen (1975) noted several examples of variation in two-word verbs, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) only mentioned this type of variation in passing.

Similar variation was reported for articles in the two studies on Chicano children as occurred in the present work. In contrast, Dulay and Burt (1973) found that articles exhibited relatively little variation compared to the other types of variation measured in their study.

While Politzer and Ramirez (1973) and Cohen (1975) both mentioned double negation, Cohen (1975) noted that there were few occurrences in his data. Though low level, double negation occurred with greater frequency in the present study than did most other types of syntactic variation.

As in the present study, redundant subject pronouns were found in both the Chicano children studies, occurring frequently in Politzer and Ramirez' (1973) study. However, proportionately more omitted pronouns were reported for those studies than occurred in the present work. In contrast, very little adverb-object juxtaposition was noted in either study.

The greatest difference between the variation reported in the studies of Chicano children's English and that of the Cuban-Americans was in the deletion of be. Though only a few examples were cited by Politizer and Ramirez (1973), Cohen (1975) found frequent examples of be deletion, particularly in the progressive construction, for which there were forty-three omissions. In the English of the Cuban-Americans there were only four deletions of be, only one of which occurred in a progressive construction. Proportionately, in comparison to the present

study, for syntactic variation in general the Chicano studies reported a smaller percentage of variation directly attributable to Spanish transfer and a larger percentage potentially attributed to L1 developmental language or social and regional dialect influence.

5.4 Semantics

The third area of nonphonological variation was semantic. As was noted in Chapter Three, semantic variation can result from language transfer, in the form of loanshifts and loanwords. Variation may also resemble that found in L1 developmental language. Both types of variation were found in the English of the Cuban-Americans.

5.4.1 Semantic Variation

Like the previous variation, the semantic variation was generally low frequency, with potentially both Spanish and developmental sources and, to a lesser extent, influence from regional and social varieties of English. In all there were fifty-two occurrences of semantic variation, involving eighteen subjects.

As in other studies on both Spanish and English semantic variation, verbs were affected most. Of the fifty-two examples of variation, thirty-nine involved verbs; six, nouns; two, adverbs; two, adjectives; one, a conjunction; and two, either the verb or the noun.

5.4.2 Sources of Semantic Variation

Thirteen of the fifty-two examples of semantic variation, can be found in the educated norm, but are marginal or somewhat antiquated forms. All of these resulted from Spanish transfer, e.g.:

'Cause he works close to my house so he lunches there. (#13)

The more common means of expressing this concept would be to use the noun form of lunch with an accompanying verb, i.e. eats lunch or has

lunch. The choice of the verb lunch parallels the Spanish use of the verb almorzar.

Of the remaining thirty-nine variant forms, 35.90% (14/39) were the result of Spanish influence, specifically, semantic extensions or loan translations, e.g.:

Sometimes I go to my sister's house and take a bath in the pool.
(#12)

I win ten dollars painting, you know, a room. (#30)

And his grandmother is turning crazy. (#23)

In Spanish the verb bañar means both 'to bathe/swim' and 'to take a bath'. Likewise, ganar includes both 'earn' and 'win' in English. The expression to go crazy in Spanish is volver loco, literally, 'to turn crazy'.

Some of the Spanish-influenced substitutions reflected tendencies to overgeneralize or to create nonexistent forms by analogy to existing English constructions. While the influence from Spanish was clearly present, the motivation for these substitutions may also have stemmed from L1 and L2 developmental language processes.

For the remaining 64.10% (25/39) of the variant semantic forms, the source did not appear to be language transfer. Some of the variation resembled that of L1 developmental language, e.g.:

I was just staring at the board so she wouldn't tell me anything.
(#5)

The subject meant ask, since he then indicated that he did not want to answer any of the teacher's questions. The confusion of ask/tell was attributed to L1 developmental language by Cohen (1975). Similar variation is found in some varieties of English, with pairs like learn/teach and borrow/lend.

Another type of semantic variation also found in L1 developmental language used semantic categories that could not co-occur, corresponding to Palmer's (1981) collocative restrictions on synonyms, e.g.:

I'm going to get into a legal secretary. (#2)

Whereas a profession can occur with get into, e.g., get into secreterial work, the use of a human noun necessitates a verb like become. Menyuk (1971) noted this type of variation in L1 development.

A third type of variation, which Menyuk (1971) also related to first language acquisition, again relates to synonyms, corresponding to Palmer's (1981) overlapping category. This type of variation also is related to Kempson's (1977) general verbs and Lyons' (1977) hyponyms, e.g.:

And we just get the prize (present) right there. (#23)

We'll be over Saturday night but in Disney World. We won't sleep over we just--be over (stay over). (#7)

Of these three types of developmental variation, the first occurred in 24.00% (6/25) of the nontransfer variation, the second, in 12.00% (3/25), and the third, in 64.00% (16/25).

As in the previous nonphonological variation, both Spanish and developmental sources are dominant influences on semantic variation. However, while Spanish may influence preference for a particular form, the majority of the forms not found in the educated norm were the result of developmental language.

5.4.3 Semantic Comparison with Other Varieties of Hispanic English

Once again, as with the syntactic variation, similar variation was found for the Cuban-Americans as was described for Chicano children. However, in the Chicano studies very little of the variation could be

attributed to Spanish transfer. In contrast, the present study found approximately half of the overall semantic variation to result from Spanish transfer. Because both Politzer and Ramirez (1973) and Cohen (1975) used a controlled answer measurement, the semantic scope was much narrower than the present study, making an extensive comparison impossible.

Looking at nonphonological variation in general, the Cuban-Americans had a considerably lower frequency than reported in the studies on other varieties of Hispanic English. For the overall nonphonological variation in the English of their subjects, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) calculated the mean number of variant forms per hundred words. The third graders in the bilingual school averaged 4.3 variant forms, while those in the monolingual school had a mean score of 4.0 variant forms per hundred words. In contrast, the subjects in the present study averaged only .90 nonphonological variant forms per hundred words. Therefore, although the measurement in the Chicano study was more structured, overall variation in the Cuban-American English morphology, syntax, and semantics resembled that of the Chicano children. However, it occurred with only approximately one-fourth of the frequency.

5.5 The Relationship among the Sources of Nonphonological Variation

Dulay and Burt (1974) argued that since variation attributed to transfer also occurs in developmental language, for children acquiring a second language, the source for all syntactic variation is developmental language. However, Zobl (1980a) suggested that it was the co-occurrence of the two factors that promoted variation and eventual fossilization. Andersen (1983) left open the possibility that, in addition to first language transfer, natural acquisitional principles and L1 developmental language can reinforce each other, resulting in fossilization.

Although L1 developmental language is the dominant source of the fossilized variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans, as was noted previously, not all the variation found in the present study can be classified as having developmental language as its primary source. The juxtaposition of object and adverb and several substitutions of prepositions do not have a direct parallel in L1 developmental language. This weakens Dulay and Burt's (1972) claim that transfer is only incidental to language variation.

On the other hand, much of the variation in the Cuban-American data, including most of the morphological variation, has no direct source in the ancestral language. Further, some forms vary, like a portion of the prepositions, even when the English and Spanish forms are parallel. Yet this variation too has become fossilized, contradicting Zobl's (1980a) claim that unlike first language transfer variation, developmental variation does not fossilize.

The data in the present study support Andersen's (1983) hypothesis. Only juxtaposition of the object and adverb, as Andersen (1983) himself noted for Hebrew speakers of English, presents a possible counterexample, since this variation appears not to be reinforced by developmental language. It is possible, however, that when forms occur in the educated norm in restricted contexts, these contexts are generalized if they are parallel to those found in the first language. Thus, a developmental language process may be functioning.

One limitation of the previous hypotheses is that they fail to differentiate among the different linguistic areas. Clearly the relative degree of influence from any one source is dependent on the particular linguistic function in question. As noted by Zobl (1980b) and others,

there is almost no transfer of bound morphology. Therefore, this area reflects L1 and L2 developmental language, including universal tendencies, reinforced by social and regional varieties of English.

In contrast, there is a greater influence on the second language from the first language syntax and semantics. Of those syntactic categories discussed, as well as the semantic variation, all had some degree of language transfer. However, this influence varied in its significance and could not be found in all occurrences within any category. Further, the nontransfer variation often dominated. The only area in which first language transfer exerted a major influence was in the phonology.

In counting all sources of variation in the morphology, syntax, and semantics of the Cuban-American English and assigning any to Spanish, even if there was an overlap with other categories, this study found that only 33.26% of the variation had a Spanish source. An additional 3.28% of the variation had a potential L2 developmental language source, including hypercorrection and universal tendencies not found in L1 developmental language. The remaining variation, accounting for 63.47% of the occurrences, was potentially directly related to L1 developmental language. Since most social and regional dialect variation resembles L1 developmental language, 14.29% of the variation could also have resulted from surrounding social or regional dialect variation. However, it must be noted that this was an unlikely source of the variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans, since, as pointed out previously, there was a particularly low frequency of most variation characteristic of the surrounding social and regional dialects.

This distribution of variation closely resembles that found by Cohen (1975) for his Chicano subjects, even though Cohen's study (1975)

used a method closer to that of the Bilingual Syntax Measure to elicit data. When all of Cohen's (1975) examples of variation were analyzed in the same manner as that described for the present study, only 22.46% of the occurrences had a potential Spanish source. An additional 2.67% were potentially the result of L2 developmental language. Of the remaining 74.87%, 22.73% could have resulted from regional or social dialect influence.

The slight differences in potential Spanish and regional/social dialect influence between Cohen's (1975) study and the present work are accounted for by three factors. First, as noted in section 5.3.3, Cohen's subjects exhibited considerable deletion of the copula and be auxiliary in their English, whereas the Cuban-Americans had almost no occurrences of this deletion. Second, while the Chicano children had little substitution of prepositions that could be attributed to Spanish influence, over half of the preposition substitutions in the present study potentially had Spanish as their source. Finally, Cohen's (1975) subjects had relatively fewer redundant subject pronouns, while there were a considerable number in the present study.

Contrary to either Dulay and Burt's (1972) or Zobl's (1980a) hypothesis, it appears that there is a hierarchy for variation and subsequent fossilization. The dominant source is later L1 developmental language, reinforced by universal language tendencies, while Spanish transfer and, to a lesser extent, L2 developmental language are secondary sources. Least frequently, variation arises from the co-occurrence of Spanish transfer and L2 developmental language.

Since regional/social dialect influence would be an external rather than an internal influence, it is excluded from this hierarchy. However,

for those speakers who have completed the second language acquisition process, not all the remaining variation may be attributed to fossilization. Both regional/social dialects of monolinguals and the bilingual norm may also contribute to variation. Further, in addition to directly influencing the second language variation, these varieties of English may indirectly serve to reinforce developmental language and first language transfer variation, as well as its subsequent fossilization. There was no evidence in the present study, however, to indicate that social or regional dialects were a significant influence on the English of the Cuban-Americans.

5.6 Summary

Like the phonological variation, the nonphonological variation showed L1 developmental language to be the major source of variation in the English of the Cuban-American subjects. However, while all major phonological variation also had language transfer as a potential source, this was not true of the nonphonological variation. Bound morphology showed little direct influence from first language transfer. In contrast, a moderate degree of syntactic variation could be attributed to Spanish transfer. Nevertheless, only roughly half of the variation directly corresponded to a Spanish counterpart. Further, in many instances there were other potential sources in addition to first language transfer. For semantic variation, approximately half of the variant and marginal forms were the result of first language transfer.

Therefore, while language transfer cannot be dismissed, it appears to be a secondary, rather than a primary source of the fossilized variation found in the English of the Cuban-Americans. The primary

factor in fossilization is L1 developmental language interacting with the other sources.

As with the phonological variation, the nonphonological variation was generally very low frequency, particularly in the reading and controlled-answer formats. Overall, the Cuban-Americans exhibited considerably less variation than that reported for some other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English.

Notes

¹Unless otherwise noted, the variant forms are from the informal interview data.

²The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha=.05$.

³For a discussion of Black English see Labov et al. (1968) and Wolfram (1969), among others.

⁴See Ramsey (1963) for examples of this phenomenon.

⁵For a discussion of first language acquisition, see Menyuk 1971. Cohen (1975) also discussed first language acquisition in his study on the English of Chicano children.

CHAPTER SIX
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
AND INDIVIDUAL VARIATION

6.1 Introduction

In Chapters Four and Five variation was discussed in terms of the Cuban-American subjects as a group. However, not all subjects exhibited the same type nor the same degree of variation for the phonological segments analyzed in Chapter Four. Likewise, not all subjects produced the same type or degree of morphological, syntactic, and semantic variation. Thus, the Cuban-Americans did not form a completely homogenous group in regard to linguistic variation.

In Chapter One it was noted that various sociodemographic factors, such as gender, age, occupation, and educational level, can be related to linguistic variation. The present chapter examines differences in the frequency of linguistic variation among the Cuban-American subjects and the relationship of this individual variation to several sociodemographic factors. In light of this information and that presented in Chapters Four and Five, the research questions are again considered with a summary of the material relevant to each.

6.2 Individual Differences in Phonological Variation

The data in Tables 4-1, 4-13, and 4-16, summarized in Table 6-1, established that different numbers of subjects exhibited variation for each segment or cluster and that the level of variation differed for each as well. In Table 6-1, the range of this variation is indicated by the standard deviation given for each segment or cluster.

TABLE 6-1
STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR
PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

Segment(s)	Group Mean Variation	Standard Deviation for 33 Subjects	Number of Subjects With Variation
Substitutions			
/ĉ/	15.42%	23.0765	18
/ʃ/	9.47%	15.6418	14
/ʌ/	5.73%	9.8589	14
/ä/	3.10%	3.2710	25
/ø/	1.59%	2.9887	9
/s/	1.33%	2.9153	9
Single Segment			
Deletions			
/d/	3.30%	5.1292	14
/t/	2.92%	3.3963	27
Cluster			
Simplifications			
/st/	16.75%	17.1869	25
/nd/	12.74%	19.0671	19
/ts/	7.18%	12.7352	17
/ks/	6.35%	15.3747	10
/nt/	5.22%	13.1261	10

Table 6-1 shows that whereas the differences in variation among subjects is relatively small for segment deletion and some of the substitution variation, it is greater for other segments undergoing substitution and for cluster simplifications. Those phonemes that differentiate the subjects to the greatest degree are /ĉ/, /ʃ/, and /ʌ/, and clusters.

The segments that exhibited the greatest diversity of variation among subjects are themselves related to some extent. The same subjects that produced a higher level of variation for one segment produced greater variation for other segments as well. When the individual frequencies of variation for /ĉ/, /ʃ/, and /ʌ/ were compared, there was a significant positive correlation, both when all subjects were

included ($p=.0001$) and when only those exhibiting variation for these segments were included (for / ϵ / and / j /, $p=.0053$; / ϵ / and / $\wedge$ /, $p=.0405$; and / j / and / $\wedge$ /, $p=.0218$).¹ The frequency of variation for these segments was not, however, significantly correlated with cluster variation.

Further, for weakening and deletion variation only two of the clusters, / st / and / nt /, showed a significant correlation with each other in the degree of variation produced by individual speakers. This correlation reached a significant level, both when all subjects were included ($p=.0001$) and when only those showing this variation were considered ($p=.0001$). The variation for these clusters in turn was correlated with / t / (all subjects: / nt /, $p=.0003$; / st /, $p=.0001$; subjects with variation: / nt /, $p=.0025$); / st /, $p=.0001$) and / d / (all subjects: / nt /, $p=.0219$; / st /, $p=.0006$; subjects with variation: / nt /, $p=.0483$; / st /, $p=.0203$). Finally, the individual frequency of variation for / t / and / d / was significantly correlated, both for all subjects ($p=.0068$) and for only those subjects with this variation ($p=.0058$).

The variation for / d / provided a link between substitution and deletion variation. Unlike other segments undergoing deletion, the degree of / d / variation showed a positive correlation with / ϵ / ($p=.0001$), / j / ($p=.0007$), and / $\wedge$ / ($p=.0007$) variation; however, when just those subjects with these variant forms were included, only / $\wedge$ / ($p=.0089$) continued to reach a statistically significant level. Unlike the other segments that deleted in word-final position, / d / is a permissible word-final segment in Spanish. Thus, / d / variation resembles both substitution and deletion variation. In contrast, other deletion functions independently from substitution variation.

As was noted in Chapter Four, deletion variation is characteristic of some social and regional dialects of English. The Cuban-Americans had noticeably lower frequencies of this type of variation both in comparison to other U.S. Hispanic varieties of English and to varieties of Black English. The variation showing an intercorrelation is uniquely characteristic of Hispanic English.

6.3 Sociodemographic Variables and Linguistic Variation

In order to establish the significance of sociological factors in relation to linguistic variation, the overall phonological and nonphonological variation was calculated for each subject. This was done by counting the total number of variant forms produced by a subject and dividing this by the total number of words produced by the same subject. This figure was then converted to variant forms per hundred words. Table 6-2 presents this information.

TABLE 6-2
INDIVIDUAL PHONOLOGICAL AND
NONPHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

Subject	Number of Variant Forms/100 Words	
	Phonological	Nonphonological
#1	0.5801	0.2175
#2	2.1547	1.3812
#3	1.3853	1.3853
#4	1.3509	0.4053
#5	2.3256	1.3953
#6	0.4441	0.5181
#7	3.7891	0.9336
#8	0.6329	0.9042
#9	3.1776	0.9637
#10	2.6799	0.9954
#11	1.0773	0.3802
#12	1.2254	0.9029
#13	1.0547	0.4314
#14	0.4440	0.4737
#15	0.2318	0.2086
#16	4.3724	0.7052
#17	0.1227	0.2455
#18	7.4205	0.8245
#19	1.6659	0.4165
#20	0.5080	0.1219
#21	1.1762	1.1494
#22	0.8815	0.3173
#23	3.4422	3.0450
#24	1.6248	1.0340
#25	2.3100	1.2668
#26	3.9683	2.3810
#27	1.5086	0.6466
#28	1.4806	0.8637
#29	2.0293	1.0147
#30	4.6499	1.6246
#31	0.5982	0.7976
#32	0.2268	0.2916
#33	1.6377	0.4606

The above frequencies of variation in phonological and nonphonological variation were compared in order to determine if there was a significant relationship between them. Using Pearson's Correlation Coefficient, a moderately positive correlation was found ($r=.5113$). This proved significant at the $p=.0024$ level.² Therefore, overall the same

subjects who exhibited greater degrees of phonological variation also showed greater degrees of nonphonological variation.

These two types of variation were then related to the following sociodemographic factors:

Gender--male/female

Age of arrival in the U.S.--0-10 years of age

Phase level of English course--I/II&III

Socioeconomic level--1-6 (see Table 1-3)

Father's education--0-18 yrs. of school

Mother's education--0-18 yrs. of school

Mother's employment--home/outside home

Self-evaluation of language spoken best--Spanish/English

Language used most overall--Spanish/English/Both

Language used most--Spanish/English/Both:

a. at home

b. in school

c. with friends

d. in stores

Intention to remain in the Miami ethnic community--yes/no

Membership in a prestigious social club--yes/no

In comparing these sociodemographic variables with individual linguistic variation, Pearson's correlation coefficient was calculated for the variables that were quantitative. If the variable was qualitative and had two possible values, a t-test was performed. If the variable was qualitative and had more than two possible values, an analysis of variance was performed. Finally, when two qualitative variables were compared, a two-tailed Fisher's exact test was employed.

Only age of arrival proved significantly correlated with both the phonological ($p=.0004$) and the nonphonological ($p=.0405$) variation. The later the subject arrived in the United States, the more variation in that subject's English. Substitution variation patterned similarly to overall variation. There was a significant correlation between age of arrival and the variation for /*ē*/ ($p=.0005$), /*ġ*/ ($p=.0066$), and /*Λ*/ ($p=.0121$). Likewise, /*d*/ variation was significantly correlated ($p=.0047$)

with age of arrival. However, /st/, /nt/ and /t/ variation did not show a significant correlation with age of arrival. It appears, then, that the substitution variation characterizes the overall phonological variation pattern, whereas the deletion variation functions independently. As it turned out, deletion variation did not show a significant correlation with any of the sociodemographic variables considered in the present study.

Initially, there appeared to be no significant relationship between English-class phase level and either phonological or nonphonological variation.³ Since placement in phase level was determined by a standardized test, this was somewhat surprising. It is possible that the subjects' oral proficiency was independent of their written ability. However, looking at Table 6-2, another reason becomes apparent. There was a considerably higher level of phonological variation for one subject, #18, and of nonphonological variation for another subject, #23. If these subjects are considered outliers and eliminated from the sample, then both phonological ($p=.0055$) and nonphonological ($p=.0079$) variation are negatively related to phase level. Excluding the outliers, subjects in the lower phase level, Phase I, exhibited significantly greater variation than did subjects in the higher phase levels, Phase II and III.

In addition to age of arrival and phase, the phonological variation was positively related to use of Spanish most and to self-evaluation of Spanish as the language spoken best. However, those who spoke English and Spanish equally did not have a significantly greater degree of phonological variation than those who spoke English most.

The relationship between those who felt they spoke Spanish best and nonphonological variation ($p=.0569$) approached but did not reach a .05

level of significance. Further, there was no significant relationship between use of one or the other language most or equally and nonphonological variation.

Surprisingly, mother's education exhibited a significant positive correlation with nonphonological variation. The more highly educated the mother, the higher the subject's nonphonological variation. In contrast, there was no significant correlation between the father's education and linguistic variation or between socioeconomic level and this variation. Mother's and father's education were significantly correlated ($p=.0005$), as were father's education and socioeconomic level ($p=.0118$).

Finally, club membership was negatively related to nonphonological variation ($p=.0117$).⁴ In turn, membership in a prestigious social club was positively related to a higher phase level ($p=.0133$) and to age of arrival ($p=.0223$). Phonological variation was not, however, significantly related to club membership.⁵

Therefore, the central variable in relation to overall linguistic variation was age of arrival. With the outliers excluded, phase level was also significantly related to both phonological and nonphonological variation. While Spanish as the language spoken most and best were related to phonological variation, for nonphonological variation, mother's education and club membership were relevant variables.

6.4 Implications of the Sociodemographic Variables

The first variable to be considered, gender, proved to have no significant relationship with linguistic variation. Since males and females were not evenly distributed in the English-class phase levels, males and females were compared separately in Phase I, and in Phase II-III. In neither case was there a significant difference in variation.

As noted earlier, gender had proven to be a significant factor in two previous studies on Cuban-Americans. Fradd (1983) found a tendency for young teenage males of the Third Wave to be more fluent than their female counterparts in the initial stages of English acquisition. In contrast, Asher and Garcia (1969), in their study of seventy-one Cuban-Americans in the San Francisco Bay area, discovered that in the initial acquisitional stages, the English pronunciation of females was closer to a native pronunciation than was that of males. However, after several years this difference diminished. It is possible that the Cuban-American males and females in the present study also exhibited differences in linguistic variation at one time. Whatever the initial differences may have been, after an extended period of time speaking English, they produced no difference in linguistic variation.

The second variable considered was age. As noted, this was the one variable that proved significantly correlated with both phonological and nonphonological variation. This was the case even though all subjects had arrived by age ten. All but one subject had spent at least ten years in the United States, the remaining subject having lived in the U.S. for seven years.

Although it has been assumed that a child acquiring a second language before puberty can attain native proficiency without any influence of the ancestral language or trace of L1 and L2 developmental forms, this did not prove to be entirely the case for the Cuban-Americans raised in the ethnic community. The degree of phonological and nonphonological fossilization was correlated with the age at which the subject began exposure to English, even if this exposure occurred outside the home environment.

This appears to be particularly the case for phonological variation. Asher and Garcia (1969) found that, based on pronunciation, not one of their seventy-one subjects was judged to be a native speaker of English. In their study, nineteen Anglo high school students listened to tapes of the Cuban-Americans and a control group reading four sentences. Even when the Cuban-Americans had arrived at age one and spent at least eight years in the United States, an Hispanic accent was detected. However, Asher and Garcia (1969) did find that age of arrival and length of time in the United States were both significant factors in pronunciation. The earlier the age of the subject on arrival and the longer the period of time spent in the U.S., the more native the pronunciation. The present study supported these findings.

The third sociodemographic variable examined was the phase level of the subject's English class. It is not unexpected that this factor would be significantly related to the linguistic variation, since it reflects English ability. However, as section 6.2 revealed, phase level was only significant when the two outliers were excluded. The outliers will be addressed at greater length in the discussion of social club membership. Phase level was not significantly related to age of arrival.⁶

The fourth variable, socioeconomic level, is normally a significant factor in linguistic variation, as Labov (1966) and others have discovered. Yet for the Cuban-American subjects it is not unexpected that socioeconomic level proved insignificant. In the present study, all the subjects lived in the same general area. As Cooney and Contreras (1978) found, in Miami different Cuban-American socioeconomic levels were likely to live in the same neighborhoods. Therefore, the Cuban-Americans

were not isolated by socioeconomic status. They attended the same school and participated together in classes and social activities.

It is possible that parents' education did not prove to be negatively related to linguistic variation for a similar reason to that given for the socioeconomic variable. Students had extended contact with each other, regardless of their parents' educational background. Since, in addition to school personnel, these peers were the main contacts for communication in English, all subjects were exposed to the same varieties of the language. However, it is unexpected for the mother's education to be positively related to nonphonological variation. Although the mothers of the subjects in the present study did not use English with their children to any significant degree, the more educated mother would be expected to instill in her child a greater desire to approach the educated norm of a language.

Mother's employment was also included as a potentially significant variable in English production, since Sole (1979) found this to be a significant factor in the use of English. However, the mother's working outside the home showed no significant relationship with linguistic variation.

In fact, greater use of English itself was not significantly related to lower linguistic variation. Only speaking Spanish most overall exhibited a significant relationship with linguistic variation and then only with phonological variation.⁷ In all but one case, however, the mean variation was highest for the "Spanish most" group, medial for the "both equally" group, and lowest for the "English most" group. This applied to both nonphonological and phonological variation when speaking to friends, in stores, at home, and in school. The one

exception to this order was language used in stores. Those who spoke both languages equally had a slightly lower mean nonphonological variation than those using English. Nevertheless, the differences in all subcategories of language use were not significant.

It is not surprising that the language spoken best proved related to phonological variation, since age of arrival and speaking Spanish best were significantly related ($p=.0110$). Those who felt they spoke Spanish better than English also were those who arrived later. Although the relationship between nonphonological variation and considering Spanish the language spoken best did not reach a significant level of reliability, it did indicate a trend in this direction.

Remaining in the Miami ethnic community was another variable included in the present study. If the the subject wished to stay in the ethnic community, a greater attachment to the community was indicated. On the other hand, if the subject wished to live elsewhere, a desire to separate from the ethnic community was implied. This factor did not, however, prove relevant to linguistic variation. There was no significant difference in the variation of those who wished to remain in the Miami ethnic community and those who did not.

The last variable to be considered was social club membership. Those subjects who were members of either of the two more prestigious female or male social clubs at Miami Senior High School produced fewer variant forms than those subjects who were not. While club membership was probably for the most part the result of low linguistic variation, it may also have been the cause in some instances.

Club membership proved potentially relevant to the outliers mentioned in the discussion of phase level. The subject showing extreme

phonological variation, #18, was the person who had the oldest age of arrival (ten) and the shortest number of years in the United States (seven). If age is significantly correlated with phonological variation, then it is not surprising that this subject should exhibit the greatest phonological variation. He did not, however, show this same degree of variation in nonphonological elements. This subject was in the Phase II level of English and belonged to a social club.

The subject showing considerably greater nonphonological variation than the other subjects, #23, also had a higher frequency than expected of phonological variation. Yet this subject arrived in the United States at age three, below the mean age of arrival, and was in the Phase II level of English classes. He did not, however, belong to a social club.

As was noted previously, nonphonological, but not phonological, variation was shown to be significantly related to membership in a prestigious club. Club membership in turn implied involvement in school social activities. While #18 was very involved in school activities, spending all his after-school time socializing at the school, #23 did not associate with those of his same background and instead chose as close friends those who were either drop-outs or who had only peripheral contact with the school.

Social club membership was also significantly related to age of arrival ($p=.0223$). This supports the Hernandez (1974) study, which found that older arrivals were less able to adjust to the American educational system. Of those who showed greater than 1.000 nonphonological variant forms per hundred words, most were isolated to a degree from their peers at school. They fit the profile of over- or underacculturation discussed by Szapocznik et al. (1980). Either they were loners with few friends,

had close family ties and spent the majority of their time with their parents, or were friends with those who had poor attendance rates and did not participate in school activities.

Cause and effect are not easily established for social involvement in school activities and low nonphonological variation. To a considerable extent the relationship is probably dependent on linguistic variation, which in turn is caused by age of arrival. However, age of arrival was not significantly related to phase level, whereas phase level and club membership were dependent. Students in higher phase levels, whose English approaches the educated norm, are more likely to be involved in school social activities. On the other hand, it is possible that associating with students whose English more closely matches the educated norm influences an individual's nonphonological production, reducing variation. Conversely, those whose English is further from the educated norm are less likely to belong to prestigious social clubs; this isolation in turn promotes nonphonological variation, since the greatest exposure to English is in the school environment.

The phonological variation in the speech of #23 may likewise be related to isolation from the educated norm. Although he arrived at an early age, because of social contacts, this subject was primarily exposed to an English with considerable phonological variation. The reverse situation, however, does not necessarily lower phonological variation. If the subject acquires English at a later age, exposure to the educated norm will not apparently reduce phonological variation significantly. The latest arriving subject, #18, continued to exhibit considerable phonological variation, even though he had extended contact with a more educated norm.

Social contacts may also account for the differences in linguistic variation based on gender. Fradd (1983) explained that the males in her study had greater contact with English speakers than did the females. It is possible that in Asher and Garcia's (1969) study the younger females socialized more with English speakers than did their male counterparts.

Another factor related to social involvement was the individual's attitude toward the educated norm. When asked how he would improve his English if he could, #23 replied, "Just fine the way it is--you understand me." In contrast, those whose English most closely approached the educated norm exhibited considerable awareness of this norm and a desire to speak it.

While Cuban-Americans who were born in the U.S. or arrived in early childhood and who grew up outside the ethnic community generally do not exhibit noticeable linguistic variation in their English, it appears that living in the ethnic community does promote some degree of fossilization in the speech of the second generation. Since two subjects had grown up in Hispanic communities other than Little Havana, their linguistic variation was examined individually to determine the effect of living in a different, less concentrated ethnic community. It was noted in Chapter One that one subject, #30, grew up in a city to the northwest of Miami, while another, #31, had lived in a large Midwestern city. In addition to a high percentage of Cuban-Americans, the Florida city also had a large Black population. In the Midwestern city, the Hispanic community was primarily composed of Chicanos. It likewise had a large Black population. Unlike the Miami area, use of Spanish was forbidden in the Midwestern city's schools.

The two subjects from outside Little Havana arrived considerably after the mean age and therefore would be expected to exhibit a higher frequency of linguistic variation in their English. For #30, the subject from the northwest suburb of Miami, both the phonological and the nonphonological variation were approximately double the mean, reflecting his late age of arrival. However, the frequency of variation for the Midwestern subject fell below the mean for both types of variation.

Although neither subject was a member of a social club, #31 had been involved in school organizations in the Midwest and had associated extensively with Anglo speakers of English. He had not had extensive contacts with either Chicanos or Blacks, which perhaps explains his lower frequency of variation as compared to that reported for Chicanos in the same area. In contrast, the subject from the Miami suburb associated almost exclusively with other Spanish speakers who, like himself, were not actively involved in the school social structure. Thus, social contacts were also potentially relevant to variation in ethnic communities other than Little Havana.

In addition to having a lower than expected frequency of linguistic variation, the subject from the Midwest also differed significantly from other subjects in his intonation. Whereas the speakers from South Florida exhibited a more Spanish intonation, with the voice rising at the end of the sentence and then leveling off, #31 had a typical Midwestern English intonation pattern.

Therefore, several sociodemographic factors were relevant to linguistic variation in the English of second generation Cuban-Americans. For the Cuban-Americans in the ethnic community, age of arrival, even among those arriving in preadolescence, was significantly related to the

frequency of both phonological and nonphonological variation. Speaking Spanish most and best was also related to phonological variation but speaking Spanish best was in turn dependent on age of arrival. Involvement in school social activities was related to nonphonological variation. However, unlike age, this was not necessarily a causal relationship. Other variables proved insignificant to linguistic variation. The proportionate amounts of English and Spanish used by a speaker did not significantly affect English variation. Further, neither a higher level of parental education nor a higher socioeconomic level was related to lower frequency of linguistic variation.

6.5 Summary and Conclusions

In Chapter One, four research questions were considered. The first investigated the acculturation of the Cuban-Americans. Chapter Two found that unlike previous Hispanic immigration, the Cuban exodus was primarily political rather than economic and regarded as temporary by the refugees. Thus, intended length of stay worked against acculturation. However, by the mid-sixties, the refugees began to realize that their residence in the United States would be permanent.

Those Cuban-Americans, often the more professionally skilled, who settled outside the ethnic communities acculturated more rapidly, particularly in regard to English language acquisition, than those remaining in the ethnic community. As Schumann (1978) claimed, the social factors of preservation, enclosure, and cohesiveness slowed the second language acquisition process. On the other hand, as Rogg (1974) proposed, the ethnic community also facilitated adjustment, by lessening the affective factors of cultural and language shock. Further, the ethnic community provided economic opportunities through enclave industry.

The second research question addressed the language background of the Cuban-Americans and the English of U.S. Hispanics in general. In comparing Cuban Spanish with English, Chapter Three revealed numerous potential areas of Spanish phonological transfer. Phonological transfer was indeed encountered in other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English as, to a degree, were Spanish semantic and syntactic transfer. However, much of the variation in nonphonological aspects of Hispanic English, particularly the morphology, appeared similar to that found in later stages of L1 developmental language. Other variation was characteristic of L2 developmental language, differing to an extent from L1 developmental language.

The third research question inquired into the nature of variation in the English of the Cuban-American second generation, specifically the type and degree of this variation, its source, the environments promoting the variation, and the nature of this variation in relation to other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English.

Chapters Four and Five showed that, overall, variation in the English of the Cuban-American second generation was of a very low frequency, particularly in the reading and controlled answer formats.

Two major types of phonological variation were identified in Chapter Four. The first involved Spanish-influenced variation of those segments exhibiting variation in the later stages of L1 developmental language. Universal language tendencies likewise were relevant to this variation. Thus, phonological variation combined Spanish transfer and developmental language, supporting Zobl's (1980a) hypothesis that fossilization results from the co-occurrence of these sources.

The second type of phonological variation, word-final segment deletion, could also be attributed indirectly to Spanish transfer, since Spanish, particularly Cuban Spanish, tolerates few word-final consonants. This variation could likewise be the result of universal language tendencies or L1 developmental language.

Further, like some of the substitution variation, the deletion variation could reflect outside influence from social or regional dialects. In general, however, there appeared to be almost no outside dialect influence. For those segments that undergo variation in many social and regional dialects, there was less variation in the Cuban-American English than for some other segments not exhibiting variation in these social and regional dialects.

Yet the pattern of variation did not follow the Spanish distribution in all cases. The more marked of the phonemic segments in each alternation showed the greater variation in all instances. For the deletion variation, the distribution generally followed that predicted by universal tendencies, with several exceptions, perhaps resulting from the overall low frequency of occurrence.

Chapter Five found that, unlike phonological variation, much of the nonphonological variation could not be directly attributed to Spanish transfer. Though some of this variation was indirectly related to Spanish, this indirect influence often overlapped with L1 and L2 developmental language sources, including universal tendencies. Thus, once again, multiple sources appeared to account for variation.

However, since the variation represented fossilized forms in the English of the Cuban-Americans, and since some variation was neither directly nor indirectly related to Spanish influence, Zobl's (1980a)

claim that only first language transfer fossilizes was not entirely supported. On the other hand, some variation clearly did not occur in developmental language, thus weakening Dulay and Burt's (1975) hypothesis that all syntactic variation in children's language attributed to Spanish transfer also has a developmental language source. Instead, Andersen's (1983) proposal that multiple sources promote fossilization proved most acceptable.

There appears to be a hierarchical order, which first favors variation of later L1 developmental language, reinforced primarily by universal language tendencies and secondarily by Spanish transfer. Second, though less characteristic of variation, Spanish transfer can combine with L2 developmental language, primarily reinforced by universal language tendencies not found in L1 developmental language and secondarily by other aspects of L2 developmental language, such as hypercorrection.

However, this overall hierarchy differs somewhat for the individual linguistic categories. Spanish transfer exerts the greatest influence on the phonology and the least on the morphology, with intermediate levels of influence for the semantics and syntax. In almost all variation, universal tendencies, which are found in L1 and L2 developmental language, as well as in forms transferred from the first language, are influential.

The presence of multiple sources for variation did not, however, necessarily promote this variation. Some forms that are reinforced by numerous sources, such as omission of the genitive marker, nevertheless failed to show variation in the Cuban-American English.

In general, the variation in Cuban-American English was similar in form to that of other varieties of U.S. Hispanic English. Yet some

variation common elsewhere did not occur with any frequency in the English of the Cuban-Americans. Further, unlike several Hispanic varieties of English, the Cuban-American English showed little influence from other social or regional dialects. Finally, the overall variation was generally at a much lower frequency than that reported elsewhere for U.S. Hispanic English. In many instances the English of the Cuban-Americans closely resembled the educated norm.

The variation of individuals did not always follow this general pattern; some speakers exhibited considerably higher frequencies of variation. This was the focus of the fourth research question, the relation of individual linguistic variation to sociodemographic variables.

Chapter Six disclosed that age of arrival was the most significant factor related to greater variation in the English of the Cuban-Americans. A relationship was also found between membership in a prestigious social club and nonphonological variation. While it is likely that most often the social club membership was a result rather than a cause of linguistic variation, it is also possible that in some instances social involvement promoted lower nonphonological variation.

Therefore, evidence from both group and individual variation suggests that, as with the first generation Cuban-Americans, isolation caused by the ethnic community does affect the acquisition of English by the second generation. However, unlike the situation of the first generation, which in some cases resulted in little acquisition of English, the effect on the second generation is relatively insignificant. Particularly if the speaker was born in the U.S. or arrived at an early age, the effect of the ethnic community on the English production was

minimal. Further, interaction with those Cuban-Americans whose English approaches the educated norm may lessen nonphonological variation.

It is unlikely, then, that the second generation in the present study will produce a lasting variety of Cuban-American English. Except for intonation, the variation is too sporadic to be incorporated in the English of future generations. The ethnic community does not appear to be developing a bilingual norm distinct from the English of the surrounding Anglo community.

In addition, just as the ethnic community has helped the first generation, so also has it provided benefits for the second generation. These include leadership opportunities in the school and pride in ethnic heritage. It has also provided another benefit, bilingualism, the value of which has not yet been fully recognized by the South Florida community as a whole.

While the present study has contributed to an initial understanding of the linguistic situation of the Cuban-Americans in Miami, much remains unknown of the language of this community. Additional research is needed to discover the nature of variation in the Spanish of the second generation and the role codeswitching plays in the language of this group. Further, another second generation is emerging in the Little Havana community, the children of the Cuban-Americans who arrived in the 1980 Third Wave and those of immigrants from Central America. It remains to be seen how their linguistic situation will compare to that described in the present study and whether or not this second generation will influence the development of a lasting U.S. Hispanic variety of English in the Miami ethnic community.

Notes

¹As in the previous chapters, the null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .05$.

²If #18 is considered an outlier, that is, an observation radically deviating from the remainder of the sample, then a stronger correlation results, $r = .6642$, $p = .0001$.

³Because Phase III, the honors English class, represented a much smaller group of students than either Phase I or Phase II, the two students in Phase III were grouped with the higher of the regular English classes, Phase II.

⁴At Miami Senior High School there were two male social clubs, Key Club and Interact, and two female social clubs, Little Women and Honoria, that produced the majority of the leaders of school organizations, including class officers.

⁵If, however, #18 is excluded from the sample, then club membership is related to phonological variation at a significant level ($p = .0237$).

⁶This was true even when #18 was excluded from the sample.

⁷If #18 is excluded from the sample, then speaking Spanish best is significantly related to phonological variation ($p = .0132$).

APPENDIX A
LETTER TO STUDENTS

March 15, 1982

Dear Miami Senior High student,

You have said that you might be interested in participating in a study about your language and its relationship to your community. My name is Maggie MacDonald and I am working on a Ph.D. at the University of Florida. I hope to find out information about you that will help identify the needs of students in the Miami Senior High area. Can you answer yes to the following questions?

Are you a senior?

Were you born in the Miami Senior High area or have you lived there since early childhood?

Did your parents come to Miami from Cuba?

If you answered yes to all three questions, I would like you to participate in an interview. If you are chosen for my study, in early May you will be interviewed for approximately forty-five minutes during school hours. I will ask you to read a passage, discuss some pictures, and talk about your interests and activities. There are no right or wrong answers and you will not be graded in any way.

If you are interested, I would like you to fill out a questionnaire and to take a permission letter home to your parents. Please ask your English teacher for these forms. After you fill out the questionnaire and get a parent's signature on the letter, please return these forms immediately to your English teacher. You will be notified in late April if you have been selected for the study. Should you have any questions about my study, please ask your English teacher.

Thank you for your help. I look forward to meeting and talking with you.

Sincerely,

Marguerite G. MacDonald
Doctoral Candidate
Program in Linguistics

APPENDIX B

PARENTAL CONSENT LETTER

March/marzo 15, 1982

Dear Parents,

I am asking permission for your child to participate in a dialect study I am doing for a doctoral dissertation in linguistics at the University of Florida. Your child will fill out a questionnaire, and participate in a forty-five minute recorded interview if he or she is selected for the study. No names will be used in the study and all information will remain confidential. The taped material will be linguistically analyzed and the results will be used to help the faculty at Miami Senior High School to assess ways in which they can help students improve their verbal ability in English. If you have any questions concerning this study, please contact Mr. Cecka, Guidance Chairperson, or Mr. Marley, the head of the English Department. To give permission for your child to participate in this study, please sign the form below and have your child return it to his or her English teacher tomorrow.

Muy estimados padres,

Me gustaría pedir permiso para que su hijo o hija participe en un estudio dialéctico que estoy haciendo en la Universidad de la Florida para una tesis doctoral en lingüística. Su hijo o hija llenará un formulario de preguntas y, si se escoge a él o ella para el estudio, participará en una entrevista informal de cuarenta y cinco minutos que será grabada. No se usará ningún nombre en el estudio y toda la información se mantendrá confidencial. Se analizará la materia grabada y se usarán los resultados para ayudar a los estudiantes a mejorar su capacidad verbal en inglés. Si Uds. tienen cualquier pregunta, por favor diríjanla al Sr. Cecka, el director-consejero, o al Sr. Marley, el director del departamento de inglés. Para dar su permiso a que su hijo o hija participe en este estudio, por favor firmen abajo de modo que mañana su hijo o hija devuelva esta petición a su maestro o maestra de inglés.

Thank you for your interest,
Muchas gracias por su interés,

Marguerite G. MacDonald

I give permission for my child,	to participate
Doy permiso para que mi hijo/a, _____	participe
in the MacDonald dialect study.	
en el estudio dialéctico MacDonald.	

parent or guardian
padre o guardián

APPENDIX C

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name _____
2. Birthdate _____
mo. day year
3. List each school that you have attended and the years you were there.

School

Year (s)

from 19 to 19

from 19 to 19

from 19 to 19

from 19 to 19

from 19 to 19

(if more space is needed, use back)

4. Parents' birthplace: mother _____ father _____
5. Parents' occupations: mother _____ father _____
6. Highest grade in school completed by parents:
mother _____ father _____
7. Number of older brothers and sisters _____ younger _____
8. In addition to your parents, brothers, and sisters, who else lives with you?

9. What language(s) is(are) spoken in your home?

- | 10. Which language do you speak: | mainly Spanish | Spanish/English equally | mainly English |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| at home | ___ | ___ | ___ |
| at school | ___ | ___ | ___ |
| with friends | ___ | ___ | ___ |
| in stores | ___ | ___ | ___ |

Thank you for filling out this questionnaire.

APPENDIX D
READING PASSAGE

My Cousin Joe

I've got a cousin named Alonso Joseph Barnes. We call him Joe. He's kind of funny looking. His nose appears to be pasted on his face though I guess most noses appear that way. Joe's a junior in high school. Right now Joe's attending a high school in Orlando but he used to go to school in Miami. He played on the baseball team at Coral Gables High his freshman year. Joe's acquired a lot of friends since he moved to Orlando. During the summer they played a lot of baseball together. Joe's ambition is to be a major-league baseball player. But that's only Joe's. His friends want to be other things and they think Joe's kind of crazy. Joe says he'd trade almost everything he owns in order to play for the Yankees. He knows a lot about all the major-league teams. Joe also likes to watch all kinds of shows on T.V. His favorite shows ought to be about baseball but instead he likes the Dukes of Hazzard best. Joe's okay, I guess.

APPENDIX E
INFORMAL INTERVIEW

I want to get some background information about you for my study. First, do you have any questions about what I'm doing? If you don't want to answer any of the questions, just let me know. Don't worry, we'll just go on to the next.

Home

First, I want to find out something about your home. Where do you live?

Is that near here?

Could you describe your home for me?

How long have you lived there?

Where did you live before?

Who lives with you in your home?

What does your father/mother do?

Can you describe a typical day for him/her?

What special holidays do you celebrate with your family?

Tell me about last Christmas, your last birthday, etc.

School

What do you like best about school?

What is your favorite class?

Describe what you did in that class yesterday?

Which course causes you the most problems? Why?

Do you belong to any clubs or organizations? What do you do in them?

Social

Are most of your friends from Miami High? What's your best friend like?

What do you do together to have fun?

What are your favorite places to go with friends?

What do you do after school? on week-ends?

Past

What's the most frightening thing that's ever happened to you? Tell me about it.

What's your best memory--the most special thing that's ever happened to you?

Future

What do you plan to do next year?

What do you want to do for a living?

Do you plan to stay in Miami?

Community

Do you think Miami has more problems than other cities?

Do you feel safe in your neighborhood?

Do you think your neighborhood has changed? How?

Why do you think the neighborhood has changed?

Do you think the new refugees have caused problems?

Language Usage

Which language do you use most?

Which do you think you speak best?

Do you use English or Spanish with your family? friends? teachers?

Do you think it's helpful to know two languages?

How would you want to improve your English? Spanish?

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

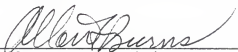
Marguerite Goodrich MacDonald was born December 2, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois. She attended public schools in Evanston, Illinois, and was graduated from Evanston Township High School in 1962. In 1966, Ms. MacDonald received a B.A. degree from DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana. During her junior year she attended the University of Madrid, earning a degree in Hispanic studies. Ms. MacDonald received an M.A. in Spanish from the University of Florida in 1973, and an M.A. in linguistics from the same institution in 1978. She completed her Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Florida in 1985.

In addition to holding graduate teaching assistantships at the University of Florida in linguistics, English as a second language, and Spanish, Ms. MacDonald taught Spanish at Mohawk Valley Community College in Utica, New York, and English as a second language at Inter American University in San German, Puerto Rico.

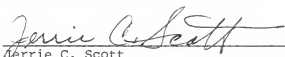
Ms. MacDonald is a member of the Linguistics Society of America, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Modern Language Association, and National Association for Bilingual Education, as well as several regional organizations. She has presented papers in applied and theoretical linguistics at both national and regional conferences.

After the summer of 1985, Ms. MacDonald and her thirteen year old son, Ian, will reside in the Dayton, Ohio, area, where Ms. MacDonald will teach linguistics in the English Department at Wright State University.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Allan F. Burns, Chairperson
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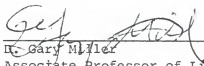
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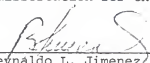
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Program in Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1985

Dean, Graduate School